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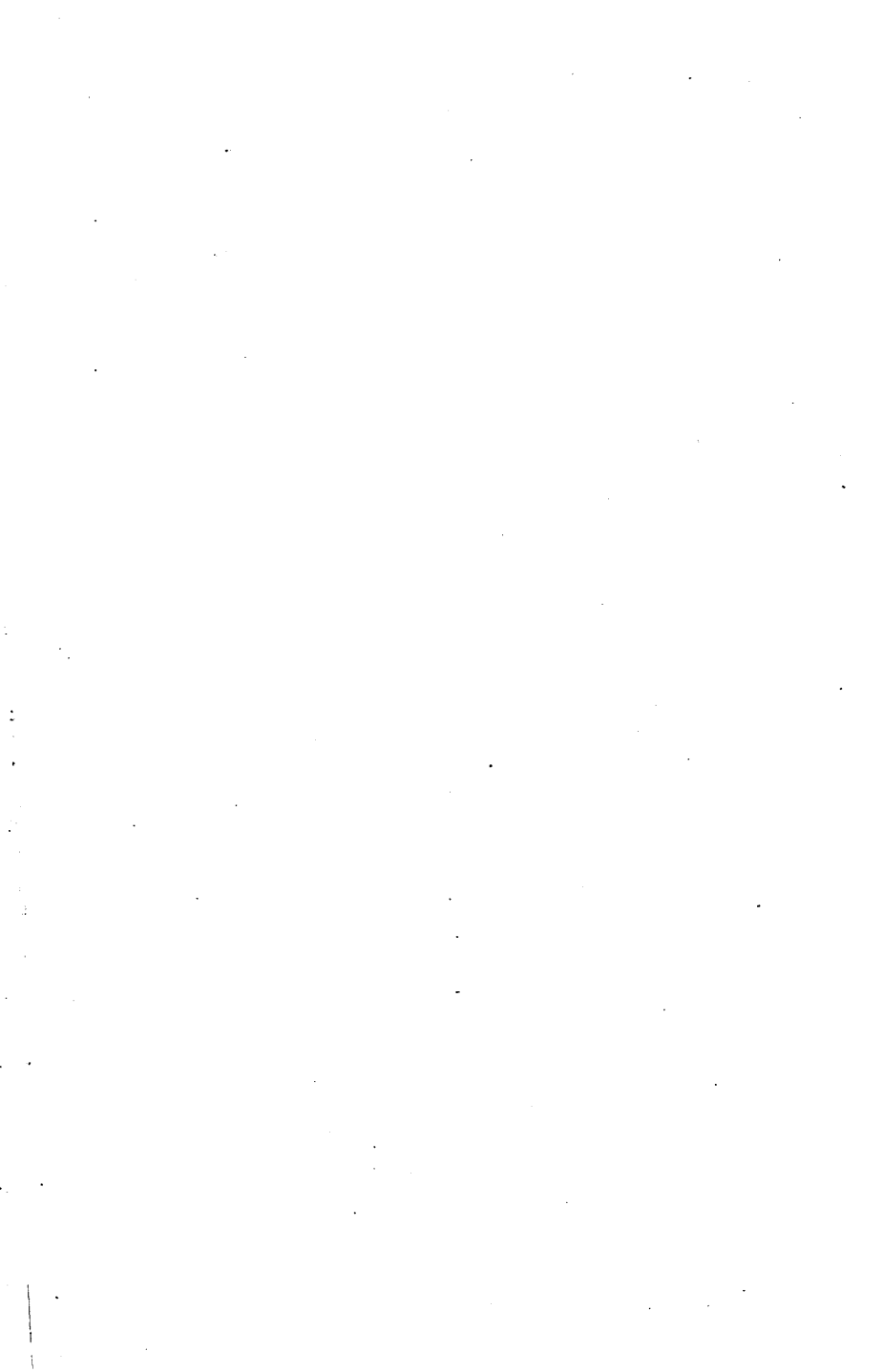
CHURCH

AND ITS MISSIONS

WILLIAM G. BROWN

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THE COURSE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
A HISTORY AND AN INTERPRETATION

Books by

W. O. CARVER

MISSIONS IN THE PLAN OF THE AGES

THE BIBLE A MISSIONARY MESSAGE

THE SELF-INTERPRETATION OF JESUS, ETC., ETC.

THE COURSE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

A HISTORY AND AN INTERPRETATION

By

WILLIAM OWEN CARVER

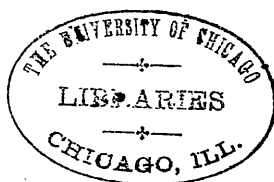
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE history of Christian missions has never been written, and can never be written. This happily becomes every year less possible. An outline of its main course can be made. Such is the present attempt. It is here undertaken on a scale somewhat more ambitious than any preceding volume. Every effort has been made to maintain a true perspective and to observe just proportion in handling the vast materials, covering innumerable interests and aspects.

I know nothing about missions that I have not learned, and most of what I have learned, I gleaned from books. It is quite impossible to cite the works upon which I have drawn, from hundreds of volumes studied through thirty years of teaching the subject. The bibliographies will indicate the sources from which I have drawn most extensively, although the bibliographies will include only the more important works in each case. The large and carefully prepared volumes on the various countries have naturally been my chief reliance. Through the years I have been a student of *The Missionary Review of the World* and the *International Review of Missions*, but unfortunately I have not kept notes of articles from which I have gained much.

It has been indicated in the title that this does not profess to be merely a record of facts. No history is. No one writes without being interested in his subject, and his interest must determine his selection and use of the facts. This puts upon any writer rigid obligation to select carefully and to interpret accurately. I have tried to do this. I cannot hope to have succeeded more than relatively. No one will be more conscious of failures in this than is the author. I have striven to deal without prejudice among the various national and denominational interests involved. Here I shall not escape criticism. Few know the work of other denominations as well as they do that of their own. Perhaps all of us are apt to think the work of our own organization is more important than that of any other. With a large Christian sympathy I have sought to know all the forces and to appreciate all in relation to the total movement for the Christianizing of the world. Missionaries will be apt to think that much more should have been said about their special countries, fields or stations. I beg all to seek to place themselves in the position of the author and try to understand his limitations.

In such a mass of facts and dates errors will occur, for I cannot hope to escape what I have found in all other volumes dealing with missionary history.

Criticism and suggestions are cordially invited. They will be appreciated when they are sympathetic, and will be helpful even if they are censorious. In any case, they will help in improving a second edition, should the author's prayerful hope be realized, that his historical outline will be of real service to those who are interested in the world task of Christianity.

It is my belief that the best apologetic for Christian missions, now so

seriously under fire, is knowledge and understanding of the facts of missionary history, in their relation to the history of the race. There is a large element of interpretation in this work. With most of this I know informed missionary opinion will be in agreement. Where this is not the case, the views presented are submitted as an honest effort to see things as they are.

Among obligations too extensive for detailed mention the author would express thanks to the publishers of various volumes from which it has been found desirable to quote at important points, occasionally somewhat extensively.

For valuable assistance in making the Index I am grateful to Mr. John L. Riffey, presently Fellow in Missions in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The Index is intended to be general, not exhaustive.

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I

THE GROUND OF MISSIONS

CHRISTIAN missions are rooted in the Christian concept of God. They are continued and perpetuated by reason of the Christian experience of God. It is not possible to hold steadily the true Christian idea of God and not to undertake to share that idea with all other men. Christianity has from the beginning been a missionary religion. It has not been uniformly and consistently missionary. Its missionary history, with its variations, lapses and revivals, has run parallel to the history of the adherence of the professed followers of Jesus to His interpretation of God in His character and in His relation to the human race. Whenever and in what measure the Church of Christ has been Christian, it has been missionary.

CHRISTIANITY ESSENTIALLY MISSIONARY

Christ's followers have not always been consistently loyal to His revelation of God and His passion for mankind. With all its variations, it remains true that Christianity has been missionary throughout its history. In this respect it differs from every other religion. Two others are to be reckoned as missionary. Buddhism had something of missionary impulse and activity from its beginning. Its great missionary period began some three hundred years after its origin. Its missionary career was quite remarkable, spreading the faith throughout a large part of Asia and winning a very extensive following. Its spread was mainly in one general direction unto one type of race temperament and of culture. After reaching Japan and establishing itself there, Buddhism reached a period of arrest in its missionary impulse and activity; and this was not revived until the nineteenth century. Then its new period of aggressiveness was directly due to stimulation produced by the impact of the Christian missionary movement on the peoples who adhered to the Buddhist faith. It is not pertinent or necessary here to enter upon an explanation of the fact that for half its history Buddhism has manifested very little impulse and no passion for imparting its message and its advantages to others. It is to be observed in the light of the facts that the missionary passion is not inherently and vitally necessary to the religion. In Buddhism it is optional whether one shares his blessings with others, and peculiar merit is involved for the undertaking. With Gotama, effort to help others to his salvation was an after-thought, and might have been omitted from his own life and his programme. With Jesus, the whole race of men was the objective, and no one can be His true follower who is indifferent to the needs of any man, or who neglects to give His Gospel to every man.

The other missionary religion is Mohammedanism. Here we find a much more consistent history of aggressiveness. The urge for impartation is more powerful and has had far more consistent expression than in Buddhism.

In the case of Mohammedanism it is not possible honestly to overlook the fact that the great eras and areas of its expansion have been invariably connected with political ambition and material exploitation. It would be unfair to charge that the motives of Mohammedan missions have been wholly sordid or exclusively secular. There have been some genuinely unselfish souls who devoted themselves to carrying the gospel of Allah and his Prophet to their fellow-men for humanitarian reasons. Even in connection with military and secular expansion it is not necessary to question the extensive operation of religious motives, any more than it would be right to deny such motives to the monks and priests who are associated with the colonial expansion of Spain and Portugal and with the deadly exploitation of native peoples by adventurous gold seekers and empire builders who boasted the Christian name. Yet in all fairness it has to be recognized that Mohammedanism has expanded only in connection with some political ambition or secular endeavour, and that it has maintained a steady evangelistic effort only where it was supported by the continuous secular backing. Mohammedanism has no distinctively and purely missionary organization. It has never entered any country for purely religious reasons. In India it entered in a campaign of conquest and built an empire. It remains a religion and grows in its following in rivalry and exclusiveness.

Also, as in the case of Buddhism, Mohammedanism has thus far shown itself eager for and capable of sustained and successful efforts only within certain types of culture and of race temperament. Neither in their essential concepts nor in their history have these two religions disclosed an imperious, irresistible or constantly renewing missionary character.

In the course of our studies we shall find abundant evidence that missionary motives within Christendom have not been unmixed, nor missionary practice free from damaging and discounting admixture of secular interests and forcible methods. There is this to be said of Christianity: that always mixed motives are seen to be disloyal to the essential nature of the religion, and that any other than spiritual methods, which fully recognize and respect the freedom and voluntary response of men, are to be adjudged unholy, and so adjudged by the standards of Christianity itself. The condemnation of wrong methods and vicious practices has come from its own conscience and been based upon its own principles. Its correctives have arisen from within its own life. Its revivals have been produced by its own spirit. Christianity is most true to itself when seeing and correcting its own faults and failures.

Missionary manifestations in any religions other than these three have been so exceptional, so sporadic and so little sustained as to make unnecessary any consideration of them in a general survey of the missionary history of religions. The exalted missionary ideal of Mahavira was never put into operation by Jains, except in limited areas of India. Zoroaster's followers at no time have taken with practical seriousness the revelation reported in some of the sources that Ahura Mazda required his worshippers to proclaim his will to all men.

THE URGE OF LIFE

All life has in it the urge of expansion. Without this it would not be life. This is so obvious in the spheres of zoölogy and biology—in all forms of

plant life and animal life—that we are very apt to overlook the fact that life itself is not explained in those descriptions of its manifestations in the physical sphere which constitute our sciences of living forms. Life is assumed by the sciences and its most characteristic qualities are likewise taken for granted and not explained. We have extended our biological concept, by a figure—not by any exact analogy—to the various group expressions of human association. Here, also, in the sphere of spirit and in the various groups of men, life is expansive. We think of dead civilizations, decadent cultures, outgrown political systems. We divide religions into dead and living religions. Christianity originated in a fresh and powerful experience of life. It sprang out of what professes to be a unique coming of divine life into human experience. The purpose of this coming was a new advance in the life of the human race. Jesus declared: “I am come that they may have life, and may have it abundantly.” Life, light, love; faith, hope, brotherhood; these are the terms which express the original concepts of that religion which grew rapidly into Christianity, and which has manifested from the start a spirit of expansion and impartation which nothing could resist or restrain. The language of conquest which came so largely into the Christian vocabulary in the days of the Crusades has remained until the present day; but it is not truly characteristic or representative of the spirit and the proper methods of Christianity. Christianity’s true vocabulary is the language of life, its method is reproduction and regeneration, its attitude helpfulness and sharing. This inflowing of divine life into the stream of human history, which is the characteristic aim and experience of Christianity, constantly brings about what the New Testament Scriptures call regeneration. This regeneration, renewal of individual lives with new motives, new standards and new ideals, inevitably produces what the Apostle Paul repeatedly calls a “new human race.” For that is the definite meaning of his phrases in Ephesians (several different phrases) and in that passage in 2 Corinthians 5:17, wherein he declares that “if there is any (single) man in Christ there is a new creation, old things have passed away, behold all things are made new.” It is the undertaking of Christ through Christianity, by means of individual reconstruction to produce a new order of human life, a new human race. The old order is to be transcended, and in this way, substituted by a new order. In this same connection Paul lays it down as the definite constraining and consuming business of all those who have been made alive through Christ to devote themselves to the ends of this enterprise of remaking humanity along the lines of divine righteousness. The supreme life, giving life unto the world, flows ever through the Christian Church into the world of humanity. Such is the ideal and objective of the Christian religion; such also its actual history, notwithstanding shameful failures and humiliating corruption and sin of Christians and their churches.

THE HEART OF GOD

The heart of God as revealed in Christ inevitably leads on to all men. The heart-hunger of men calls for the best, and God is the best. Jesus announced that God’s love had given Him to the world that the world should be saved through Him by getting eternal life through faith in Him.

"This," He said in the end, "is eternal life, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ as the one whom thou hast sent." He had come that men "might have life and life abundant." So He said repeatedly that those who receive them that He sends, receive Himself, and thus receive God Who sent Him. He came to give men God and the life of God. Hence Christianity means that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning their transgressions unto them, and having committed unto us the message of the reconciliation." It is the consciousness of this heart-hunger of all men that must ever constrain those who have fed on the "Bread of Heaven" to go to their fellow-men with the supreme blessing. Only in this spirit do we have Christian missions unmixed.

THE UNITY OF THE RACE

The unity of the human race was a central teaching of apostolic Christianity, as it is now coming to be a cardinal doctrine of modern humanitarianism. A unit race calls for unitary possession of the real goods of humanity. If the human race is one, its progress and development must be along the lines of acquiring and appreciating the best things and the highest values by all sections of the race. One God and one human race can mean nothing else than one religion, in any thought of matured life for humanity. Moreover, it is to religion that we must look for giving to men in the different sections of humanity a convincing sense of their oneness with all other men in the one human race. The unity of the human race is an ideal to be made actual by persistent, determined, sacrificial effort in the face of actual differences, divisions, conflicts which stubbornly resist the forces for unification. Religion alone can provide the conviction of possibility and of duty for realizing racial unity.

In religion alone is there the urge to racial unity and the compelling conviction that drives on to devising ways of making the ideal unity actual. Only those who have the sense of fulfilling an eternal purpose in a growing history will have the patience, the persistence, the faith and hope that can face the facts of the divisions, conflicts, hatreds of a fractional and factional humanity, and devote themselves to a gospel of unity, fraternity and harmony. Only when we know that God and we are fellow-workers can we give ourselves to such a task. It is Christianity which reveals the divine ideal of human unity. It is Christianity, in spite of all its weaknesses and failures, that has contributed most to the growth of unity thus far. It is Christianity that now most strongly supports the vision and inspires the effort to work for the unification of mankind. As religion provides the ideal, so also it is the hope of realizing unity. It is only as men are one under God that they will become one in brotherhood. The religion which is founded on this teaching and which draws its life from the Christ Who came from the bosom of the Father to be the light of the world cannot be other than missionary.

The function of religion is to adjust man to his spiritual environment. In the highest sense this means to establish man in active relationship with God as his Father. There are all stages of this experience from the crudest impulsive animatism up to the most exalted relationship of growing personality with complete Personality. Primarily and ultimately, religion performs its function for the individual man. In religion he defines his world, locates

himself in it, and seeks to adjust himself to it. His world may be very small, limited alike in extent and variety of its content. Yet his religion consists in the recognition of his world and his response to it. If there is reality in the spiritual environment, then there is something of actual relationship between the man and the spirit of his world—God. Here is the substantial ground and justification of every man's religion. In its measure this is revelation. God manifests Himself, man becomes aware of God, their converse is religion for man.

Like every other experience of man, his religion must grow. As he grows, his world grows. His interpretation of his world must grow. The impact of his world on him varies and enlarges. In terms of religion, that is to say God is progressively revealing Himself to the man as the man interprets himself, his world, his God. In the earlier stages of human experience no sharp distinction—if any distinction at all—is drawn between the physical and spiritual. When the distinction does come to be made it is religion that leads and enables man to make right adjustments of facts and forces within the physical realm, to unify in thought and to use in practice the materials and forces of nature. Especially is it religion that leads man to subordinate the physical to the spiritual. Religion gives primacy to personality and interprets the material as existing for the personal. Thus cultures are produced, men grow and history progresses. Values are appreciated and created.

Men live in groups. They have group life, group interest, group ideals, group methods, group consciousness. If, as we have said, the individual lives in a spiritual environment, so also does his group live in that environment. Religion functions for the group as it does for the individual. The development of group concepts modifies the idea of God, and influences the interactions between God and the group. Religion thus functions as the ground of obligation, the force of conscience, in the individuals in their group relationships. Tribal religions are one of the outstanding features in the study of the history of religions. As the tribe constitutes only a stage of the development of human society, so also tribal religions must be capable of expanding into something larger and higher or they must be replaced, when the tribes unite into nations. Tribal gods cannot be gods of a nation. If God is unitary in nature and in His relation to the human race He is the essence of the God-concept in all definitions of the divine in tribal and local gods, and so also in the national god. In this sense the God of the nation may become the God of the nations. If God has truly been in the God-idea of tribe and of nation, then tribe and nation must expand in their religious concepts into the more comprehensive idea of the universal God.

Similarly there are geographical limitations to men's ideas of God. There have been gods of the sea and gods of the land; gods of the mountains and gods of the plains; gods of forests, rivers, stones and trees. One tendency of all these limited interpretations of God in our environment is toward exclusiveness. While people remain diverse and exclusive, religions are also not only diverse but antagonistic. But when nature comes to be conceived to be one and its various phases as varying phenomena of the one nature, local and functional deities become attributes and activities of the one God;

antagonisms recede and exclusiveness begins to be overcome in comprehensive unity. God has destroyed the gods.

We have come to a stage in the world's ongoing where at least the more advanced representatives of humanity recognize that co-operative working toward unity must overcome and take the place of antagonistic exclusiveness. In all departments of life there are approximations, or at least aspirations, toward this ideal of unity. It was inevitable that religion should share in the fragmentary interpretation and expression of life so long as the race remained broken and divided. But it should be the function of religion to inspire and lead men to transcend their limitations, to overcome their provincialisms, to accept their unity and enter into helpful fellowship. In the measure in which religion is guided by true insight and inspired by genuine revelation it will operate in the direction of expansion of that sympathy which transcends exclusiveness, opposition, hurtful rivalries. If there is any religion in which the spirit of universalism is inherent and essential, that religion will tend to become actually universal. Its followers in whom its spirit becomes incarnate will of necessity become missionary in their feeling and in their activity. Its prophets and leaders will urge that it must be universal, and plan to make it so. A religion which is potentially universal cannot wait for impersonal social evolution to make it the possession of all men. It must proceed to give all men the benefits which it contains. Human progress is achieved by conscious effort. Social evolution is effected by control, by purposive effort under inspiration of ideals. True religion is the gift of God. It is in a sense, to be sure, the discovery and achievement of man. In the deepest sense it is God's gift to man. God's gifts to some men involve a stewardship for all men. The gift of redemption and of the highest ideals of humanity must constitute a gospel. The possession of God's supreme gift must make any individual, any church, any group the bearer of that Gospel to other men. The need of man, the glory of God, and the nature of the religious experience all combine to drive one forth to tell to all men what God has revealed and what one has found in God.

It is because Christianity has these universal values along with a conviction of their supreme worth to all men that Christians must be aggressively missionary. Christ in us is the hope of God's glory in humanity, the hope of humanity's redemption and realization in Christ. Such in outline is the ground of Christian missions.

THE CHRIST MISSIONARY

All these considerations found concrete definition in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. He embodied them and made them a Gospel. He inaugurated a definite enterprise for the declared purpose of promoting these ideals which He termed the Kingdom of God. In that Kingdom all national distinctions were to be transcended, righteousness was to obtain in all relations, service was to rule out all self-seeking, God would be glorified in a perfect brotherhood. For this He laboured, for this He died, and in resurrection He proved the power of His ideal and the sanction of God upon His programme. That He would set forth this enterprise in a Great Commission was so natural as to be inevitable. Yet the Commission was given with unique

originality. Not once, but repeatedly did He lay upon His followers this high duty, this holy commission. Beginning on the evening of the Resurrection Day He "gave commandment unto the missionaries (*'apostles'*) whom He had chosen . . . appearing unto them by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God" (Acts 1:2 f.).

On the first appearance to a group—in an upper room in Jerusalem—He expounded to them from the Law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms 'all things which had been written concerning him,' and then summed up the divine programme as including the items: "that the Christ should suffer and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem; ye are witnesses of these things; and behold I send forth the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city until ye be clothed with power from on high" (Luke 24:46-49).

Some two or three weeks later, on a mountain in Galilee, He met His missionaries (*'apostles'*) again, by appointment, with more than five hundred present. Here He announced that all authority had been given unto Him in heaven and on earth; and in view of that authority and by way of establishing that authority on earth, He commanded: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you all the days unto the consummation of the age" (Matt. 28:18-20; I Cor. 15:6).

At the end of the forty days following the Resurrection, with about one hundred and twenty present on the Mount of Olives, refusing to discuss with them a question concerning the Kingdom primacy of their own (Jewish) nation, He said: "But ye shall receive power when the Holy Spirit is come upon you; and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And when he had said these things, as they were looking, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight" (Acts 1:6-9).

The ground of Christian missions is found in this oft-repeated commission of the Christ. Not that this enterprise rests in any merely formal command. Christ gave no formal command. Such was not His way. In these resurrection statements He made clear the meaning of His life, the goal of His enterprise, the programme of His religion, the proper aim of His Church and of every follower, the power through which His work is to proceed to consummation. His Church exists for bringing all nations into the Kingdom of God by means of discipleship. Here is the only religion whose only authorized organization is for the propagation of the Gospel of the reign of the only God in the total life of the human race. The ground of Christian missions is in the nature of the religion, in the programme of the Christ, in the need of humanity, in the eternal power of God. The oneness of God and His ethical holiness, the unity of human nature, the rational interpretation of human history, the idealism and aspiration of the human heart at its best, the methods of human progress all unite in urging that the religion which claims to have the Son of God for its Saviour and Guide shall share this experience, this faith, this hope with all men.

II

THE BACKGROUND

THE Bible is a missionary book. Back of Christianity lies the history and literature of the Old Testament which have been accepted these nineteen hundred years as organically pre-Christian experience and documents. The Old Testament and the New are definitely related and properly constitute one literature. The great New Testament writers were fully justified in claiming the Old Testament saints as brothers within a common experience. The God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob was the God of Peter and John and Paul and Barnabas, as He was the God and Father of Jesus Who perfected the revelation of Him which had been partial but genuine in His predecessors. The Old Testament leaves off with an obvious, confessed, proclaimed incompleteness and expectancy. It has no complete message. Christianity, on its side, has no historic explanation without taking account of the Old Testament and the history it embodies. The Old Testament is a unique literature. Other literatures are religious, quite as truly so as the Old Testament. Yet the Old Testament is distinctly different from all others. For one thing, it has the same God throughout the history which it records, interprets and promotes, and God dominates the movement which it records. It is frankly and freely recognized that the people of the Old Testament had other gods, that their objects and forms of worship were alike varied, mixed, often corrupt. The ideas and history of the peoples who were called by the name of Jehovah and claimed as His worshippers had in many respects a life which parallels that of other people of both our times and other times. The Old Testament writers not infrequently speak in terms which suggest a lack of complete understanding of the monotheistic idea. Still, back of all the speakers and through them all there is no fair mistaking of the dominant concept of one God Who refuses to be merely the God of this one people. The character of the God of the Hebrews is from the beginning such as to make it impossible for Him to be merely the God of the Hebrews, as also it is such as logically and progressively to cause the Hebrews to have no other god.

There are all types of religious literature to be found in the Old Testament. If one approaches it superficially or merely by the analytical method it may seem to him that there is lack of unity and harmony. There are things which on the surface may seem to be not only inadequate but in some instances impossible of approval. Approached from the standpoint of the literature through which an ethical God is progressively revealed, the Old Testament yields itself steadily to the interpretation of one theme. That theme, once apprehended and clearly grasped, follows right on through into the New Testament and constitutes the entire Bible a unity. This is a unity not to be gained and maintained by artificial and literalistic interpretations

combined with figurative accommodations and allegorizing absurdities; but a unity of growing revelation with normal human reactions. These human reactions are always imperfect, often very disappointing and sometimes shockingly revolting. It is not difficult, with a rational approach, to discover the theme which gives the unifying subject for the whole and which furnishes the key to the nature of the Bible as the book of a religion. The Bible records the struggle of a spiritual and ethical monotheism to get itself adopted and practiced by a people. The progress of this religion is in this different from the evolution of religion as usually found. Hebrew religion has its similarities to others, but its position among religions is due to its difference; and that difference is just this, that the religion is seeking a people and not the people evolving a religion. It should be kept in mind always that we have in the Bible the book of a religion rather than a religion of the book, although rightly understood these two need not suggest contradiction or inconsistency.

The Bible is in no proper sense a history of the human race or an account of the races and tribes of men. It is not a history of the religions of men, nor even an adequate history of one religion. Its entire story of the human race up to the time of Abraham is condensed into eleven brief chapters. These chapters seem obviously intended to set the scenes for a drama of a special revelation which God begins in Abraham and completes in Jesus, interpreted as the Christ of God and the Redeemer of humanity. We have, very summarily, the beginning of the human race, its entrance upon a course of sin, ignorance, strife, superstition, diffusion, corruption. Then a new beginning in what turns out to be a futile attempt to develop man under an advanced idea of God, through Noah. All this leaves us a human race in whom God is represented as being profoundly interested, but without securing from man any response which is either satisfying to God or adequate for a worthy history of humanity. With the stage thus set, the drama of a redemptive revelation begins with Abraham. With his call, recorded in Genesis 12, we have a statement of the purpose of God in calling this man and his descendants. This purpose is emphasized by emphatic restatement at the outstanding crises in the life of this patriarch, and by corresponding emphasis of repetition to his successors, Isaac and Jacob. So far as this theme is concerned, as the subject of the Old Testament and a statement of the purpose of God, the faults, failures and sins of the patriarchs are of secondary importance. These are frankly and freely recorded. Their record shows the need even in these men of revelation and of the grace of God. And it is the story of this grace of God that the Bible gives us. The first eleven chapters of Genesis are prefatory. The theme is stated in the twelfth chapter. God has set about blessing all the families of the earth. From this point onward this is the theme treated. It comes to a climax in the universal commission of the Risen Christ and culminates in the Revelation picture of a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

THE THEME OF THE BIBLE

Until Moses and the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai, we have the Hebrew people, but no Hebrew nation. The nation is constituted and organized

under Moses. The story of that constitution of a nation does not begin with the Covenant of the Ten Words, as seems almost universally to be assumed. The foundation of the moral code is recorded in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. In the nineteenth chapter there is a brief special message for which Jehovah is represented as having called Moses into the mountain, and with which He sent him back to deliver this first of all to the people. This initial message embodies the divine ideal for the nation. It is more fundamental and, by so much, more important than all the moral, social and liturgical laws that follow. It stands to the laws of Israel and to the life of Israel in the same relation which the Declaration of Independence holds to the Constitution, legal codes and political life of the American nation. In this brief message Jehovah sets forth the fact of His call and providential preservation of Israel up to this time. Through these hundreds of years He has brought them "to Himself." It is not to national life nor to a national home that He has been primarily drawing them; it has been unto Himself as their God and into a purpose which He will embody in them. He has conditionally selected them as peculiarly His "from among all nations"—and here He is very careful to affirm that this selection is not exclusive, "for all the earth is mine." What, then, is His purpose? What is the ideal which He sets before them and asks them to accept for their own, the ideal to which He will give corporate expression in the Hebrew people and nation if they will yield themselves up to Him? He says: "Ye shall be unto me a nation of priests, a nation dedicated." As it is the function of a priest to represent a congregation in the worship of God, so in the plan of God this nation of priests are to lead "all the earth," which is His, to the worship of the one holy God.

The history of the Hebrew peoples, recorded in the Old Testament, is a very peculiar history, a record unique in the annals of the nations. That uniqueness can be readily explained if the record is interpreted as being the history of the divine movement for incorporating in the people whom He has chosen this idea of the universal worship of the holy God, by all the people of the world. The selection of material for the history and its handling by the various historians thoroughly and throughout fit into the controlling idea of recording the measure of failure and of success in developing this idea of one God for all the peoples. As history, the Old Testament is the story of the incarnation of an idea in the life of a people. So far as the great body of the people is concerned, it is a record of failure. Yet the idea did not fail. In so far as the Old Testament preserves the idea and pauses at its close with prophetic look into the future, it is the record of the unconquerable grace of God in His redeeming purpose.

HEBREW RELIGION AND OTHER RELIGIONS

In spite of the large measure of failure on the part of Israel to incorporate the concept of God and to proclaim the purpose of His grace, it yet remains true that these people did perform a great missionary function in the life of the ancient world. Their defects, their crudities, their defections, apostasies and failure, we are in the habit of measuring from the standpoint of an ideal which the Old Testament itself constantly holds before us. But for

that ideal, in the face of which we are forced to feel deeply the far-off following of the people of Jehovah, we should rather compare the religious ideas and attainments of the Hebrews with those of contemporary peoples under other religions. Such would be the normal field of comparison. On such a basis, Israel would stand high for moral idealism, for the concept of deity and for spiritual insight. Nor must we overlook the fact that the baser ideals and practices and the lower forms of worship and of life correspond directly to the substitution by the Hebrews of deities, liturgies and sacrifices which belong to other faiths and other peoples, rather than worshipping and obeying Jehovah in His appointed ways and works. Israel is judged adversely not for falling below other peoples and nations, but for failing more consistently and fully to rise above them. It is when they follow the ways and worship common in other religions, instead of the laws God gave them and the ways of worship prescribed by His prophets, that they fall under condemnation of critical students of religion. Religious amalgamation and syncretism combine with a certain liberalistic eclecticism to give us never a perfect reflection of the ideals which are represented to come through God's revelation and properly to belong to the system of religion which His spokesmen are seeking to establish and promote.

In the highest prophetic messages and poetic visions of Israel's greater religious leaders we meet with interpretations of religion which in their very nature logically involve and lead on to inclusion of all men in their worship. In these messages we have not only general and implicit calls to all men to the worship of an ethical, holy God, Who is God alone; but we have in varied and numerous forms explicit invitations and challenges to men of other races and all races to unite in this worship of Him Who alone is God and Saviour. It is true that the recognition of this wideness of God's mercy and the invitations which are extended to other peoples are often marred and rendered less effective by the obtrusion of the idea that even with international worship of a common God the Hebrew people are to remain in a position of favouritism while other peoples are to share in their blessings upon condition of humble subjection to the elect race. Even so, it is not possible to resist the impression that these higher religious ideals did in different ways spread abroad and enter as a leaven into the religious thought of peoples of various systems of religion. In the days of the widest extent and highest recognition of the national life of the kingdom, under David and Solomon, and later in the best periods of the kingdom of Judah, when the position among the nations was at its best and when their influence was most widespread, the worship in Jerusalem did influence the minds of the more spiritual among all the surrounding nations. In the hymns, anthems and prayers of the temple worship we find expressions of broadest sympathy, of the most exalted claims and of the most definite and friendly invitation and challenge to other peoples to worship Him Who alone is God. Also there are definite predictions of a coming unity of mankind in religious experience and in common worship of the God of all.

The greater prophets are shot through with expressions of this wider outlook. To be sure, the outlook varies greatly within the messages of any given prophet; but with the greater prophets we may frankly say that the

characteristic religious note which they sound is one which inevitably means universalism in religion. The folly, futility and pathos of idolatry and superstition are set forth with great earnestness and are climaxed with definite assertions of God's common attitude toward all peoples and of His earnest claim of all and His offer of redemption to all. In preaching one God Who is holy, ethical, ever-present and definitely interested in the experience and destiny of all peoples, these prophets were already actively engaged in a missionary undertaking which in spirit is one with that of the apostles of Jesus. Definite comparison of the religions of men is invited and undertaken; and this often not at all in the interest of the glorification of one religion above others, or the Hebrew people above other peoples, but explicitly in the interest of God's redeeming concern for all peoples. Through the evangelical Isaiah, Jehovah calls for the assembling of all nations and of the representatives of all religions for comparing the various religions in their teachings, their history and their results. He relies upon His people to give witness to His sovereignty and His salvation. His reason for this claim to the recognition and worship of all men is that he knows no other God and Saviour, and wishes to extend His saving sovereignty over all. It is for this purpose that He has declared His way, demonstrated His truth and called His people and preserved them (43:8-13). The poems of the Servant of Jehovah in Isaiah 40-50 are all dominated powerfully by this universalism. Jehovah's Servant is to "redeem Israel" at all cost of sacrifice, service, and testimony. But it is altogether too light a thing "to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel." God's ideal and pledge is that His Servant shall be Jehovah's "light unto the nations, even his salvation unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (49:5-8). In all the messages of assurance and hope to Israel in the second section of Isaiah (chs. 40-66) this universal outlook is maintained, ever leading the vision beyond all bounds of race and nation, and encompassing all in the worship of the one ethical and saving God, when in a common fellowship, "the time will come when Jehovah will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see his glory." He "will set a sign among them;" then such of them as see this sign and "escape" from lower religions and standards He "will send unto the nations," even "to the isles afar off that have not heard his fame nor seen his glory." There, he says, "they shall declare my glory among the nations." The result will be that out of all nations these missionaries shall bring as "their brethren" those who come to make oblations to this saving God. Of these converts Jehovah will make priests and Levites—guides in worship—with no distinction between them and the Jewish priests and Levites. It is then declared (66:18-21) that Jehovah keeps always before Him—as ideal and objective—"the new heaven and the new earth which I will make;" and that He keeps before Him always also this spiritual "seed" by means of which He will carry on this regeneration of man through all the earth.

Two of the prophets are definitely missionary prophets. To be sure Jonah, in the story of his mission to Nineveh, is himself wholly lacking in the missionary spirit. It is all the more striking that he is by the compulsion of providence driven to express the wider mercy of his God to a people who

were particularly hateful to the prophet at the moment, because of the menace which they held for the security and existence of his own nation. The real meaning of the Book of Jonah is that the God of the Hebrews rebukes and rejects the narrowness and exclusiveness of the people to whom He has committed His oracles and His worship. He will rather use them to bring all nations to repentance that He may preserve them. In the case of Daniel we have God and the prophet in entire agreement. Not only was Daniel's prophetic life lived wholly in an alien land and as one of a captive and subjugated race, but his entire ministry is represented as having been discharged in the courts of heathen kings. Through him God came to be recognized by four world rulers in succession as the supreme God Who was constructing an everlasting kingdom in the midst of world empires which are represented as rising and falling under His providential control.

THE POST-EXILIC MISSION OF THE JEWS

The ministry of the four hundred years of the Dispersion, following the captivity, constitutes a definite link in the chain of the development of the purposes for a universal religion; and is a direct preparation for the beginning of Christianity. The Captivity itself marks one of the most notable triumphs of religion in the course of human history. Normally, the failure and fall of the Hebrew kingdom would be interpreted as the failure of their God and would mark the downfall and the death of their religion. In this case the usual order was reversed. The religion was not only preserved but was purified and exalted and the God of the Hebrews was interpreted with more of ethical and spiritual truth than had ever before been His fortune. The prophets of the period of the Captivity were led to interpret the catastrophe as God's own doing and not the triumph of military power or the ascendancy of a superior deity. In the interest of His character as God He sacrificed the expectations of His people and their confidence in Him as their patron and protector. Refusing to be their guardian in apostasy, He made them, without intention on their part, to be the bearers of His message to mankind. The vast majority of the Hebrews, of course, never returned to Palestine. They mingled among the nations. They could not fail to carry into the thought of all the world into which they went at least some, of course varying, measure of the religious ideas and idealism which had wrought themselves into their constitution and religious thinking. It is impossible to measure the influence on the religions of Asia of this indirect permeation of the exalted religious ideas which had come to definite statement only in the records of Israel's religion. If the Judaism of the period from the Captivity to Christ had gained much from the experiences of the Captivity and from the rigid morality and spirituality of Zoroastrianism, that religion also must have taken heavy toll of the great prophetic messages of the Hebrews. Other religions in less measure shared in the Hebrew heritage.

We know quite definitely that the Jewish colonies in all the important centres of the Græco-Roman world became lighthouses for the ever-increasing number of earnest men and women who were turning from the darkness of the various paganisms in the search for the light of a higher and nobler

faith. These "God-fearers," whom we meet in connection with every synagogue of the early Christian missionary work, constituted a preparation which goes a long way toward explaining the marvellous success of these first preachers of the new Gospel. By the same token they testify to the success of these Jewish colonies as missionaries of a higher faith. The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language was not primarily intended for purposes of propaganda. The Septuagint did, however, become the Bible version of the Jews throughout the world. From them it passed over inevitably into the hands of great numbers of other nationalities. That there was extensive call for these Scriptures is indicated by the further fact that they were translated into no fewer than a dozen languages in all.

In dealing with the religion and literature of the Hebrew people we are studying what in its best expression is definitely proclaimed, in each stage of the history, to be the missionary purpose of the God Who was revealing Himself in that history. The Hebrews were everywhere too apt to think of their revelation as being to, and for, themselves, whereas God is seen ever to be insisting that it is intended to be a revelation through them to other people. One of the chief sources of the continued failure of Christian people to appreciate and to understand the Old Testament is this same way of thinking of it as the literature of the religion of this one people. We can never understand the Old Testament until we make our interpretation to turn upon the thought that the Hebrew people and literature were designed as a medium through which the universal God was approaching all His people throughout the human race. Thus interpreted, the Old Testament leads us definitely up to the New. We have not "two dispensations." Least of all do we have one God of the Old Testament and a different God of the New. What we actually have is different stages in the revelation and application of the redeeming grace of God; and a persistent determination on His part to incorporate this redeeming grace in a people who will become its bearers and will produce the fruits of His righteous reign over all men.

Paul was absolutely loyal to the principles of the divine purpose in human history as taught in the Old Testament when he declared in his address at Athens that God "made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us; for in him we live, and move, and have our being." It is only in line with His historic intention and in fulfillment of His providential control of all peoples that God, Who had overlooked times of ignorance and so had continued in existence nations that were steeped in superstition and idolatry, "now commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent; inasmuch as he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." Paul rightly claimed that in his function as missionary to the non-Jewish world he was a true Jew and was serving the God of his fathers. God had ever claimed all the

peoples as His; had asserted His control over them all; had insisted that His righteous Servant would not fail nor be discouraged until He had set justice in the earth, so that the very isles should wait for His law. The universalism of the Christ is the unchanging Gospel of the God of the whole Bible.

CHRIST THE FULFILLMENT OF ALL RELIGIONS

If Christianity is justified in offering itself as the religion of all men in the claim that God has so provided in His purpose and in His control of all nations, then the religion of Jesus Christ ought to prove a fulfillment of other religions and not of the Hebrew religion alone. Such it actually does prove to be. Justin Martyr taught, in the third century, that "natural Christians" among all peoples were seeking God only to find Him in Jesus Christ. It is as desirable as it is possible to find in all the historic religions of mankind ideas, hopes and aspirations that lead on to God as Saviour and satisfier and that find fulfillment in Christ—that find in Him release and new beginnings. Here, however, we must seek facts and not weave theories out of enchanting fancies. Organized Judaism did not find its realization in Jesus as its Christ and make glad transition into the fuller and realizing faith. The system of Jewish religion forced the separation of Christianity from itself, and the two have continued with divergent histories. It is not possible to claim that organized Christianity is the continuation of organized Judaism. In the realm of spiritual experience and spiritual influence the continuity is found. The Christian organization supplanted the Jewish organization as the bearer of the good message of God's love, grace and righteousness to men. The Christian Church has been a defective and often an ineffective bearer of the saving life of God among men, yet it has, however imperfectly and unfaithfully, been the messenger through whom the living God has especially carried on the approach to humanity which one may witness all the way from Abraham to Jesus.

It is this inner urge of God reaching out redemptively and progressively through human life that has made the Church missionary and must keep it so.

No more than in the case of the Jewish priests, scribes and elders may we find the official Church of any other faith leading its worshippers to surrender the ancient forms and substitute the Christian Church for the institutions which history and tradition have produced for them. What we see in them all is the need of fulfillment. Their literatures confess it, their social structures proclaim it by a thousand ills unrelieved through grinding centuries, their seeking souls sigh for it in halting and hesitant hope, their prophets call for it in challenges of spirit above the forms that hold men without advancing them. To men of all faiths in which they have sought God, Christ comes as the answer to their souls. God meets seeking men in Christ everywhere.

We do not, in simple fact, find in the literature of any other religion a persistent principle of spirituality and a dominating pledge of redemption such as constitute the characteristic unity and progress of the Old Testament. There is nowhere else the same preparation for the Gospel which

we find in Jewish history. We do find in them all the voice of God speaking great truths to the souls of men, great moral maxims to be the foundations of character, ethical ideals that enrich life and promise larger hope. All these hold people for the coming of God in the Gospel of His Son to bring deliverance and to set men's feet in the ways of peace and progress.

There is no other religious literature which can constitute with the New Testament an organic whole as does the Old Testament; no other religious history whose essential interpretation is realized in the genuine religion founded by Jesus of Nazareth and developed by the interpretation of Him as the Christ of God. Still there are in all of them elements that give evidence that God has not left Himself without witness while "in generations past he suffered all nations to walk in their own ways." He has at least manifested Himself far enough for the message of Christian missionaries to be "good news" that they are "to turn from these vain things (of idolatry and low forms of worship) unto a living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that in them is."

STEWARDSHIP OF GOD'S GIFTS OF GRACE THROUGH ALL NATIONS

There is no explanation, in reason or in religion, for the claim (Acts 14:15-17) to a superior revelation of the one God to the Hebrew people as compared with other peoples save that which the Hebrew prophets and Scriptures themselves give. And it is the same explanation which the Christian prophets and Scriptures give. It is this: That all God's gifts are committed in stewardship to be transmitted to others. To receive from God is to be made a messenger of God. Abraham was made to know God in order that all the families of the earth might be blessed. Israel was brought to the true God that all the earth might know that it was Jehovah's and come into His fellowship. The Christian Church exists for the purpose of seeking and saving the world, even as its Master came to seek and to save that which was lost. It exists in order that the Kingdom of God may come on earth, when the will of God will be done as in heaven so on earth, and this because God's name will be hallowed in all the earth as the Father Who is in heaven. The Christian Church's prayer is addressed to "Our Father." The "our" must inspire and express the heart's outreach for every man who prays in all the world, until he, too, can say, "Father," as he prays to the one God.

It is not alone through their religions that the nations function in the background of Christian missions. God's control of all the peoples of the whole earth is asserted by all the greater interpreters of Israel from Moses to Daniel. His ownership interest in all is preached by prophets, sung by poets, chanted in the liturgy of worship and heralded by antiphonal choirs in the worship of the great feasts of the temple. His purpose to save them all impartially is a cardinal principle of the revelation as it grows from the call of Abraham to the clear detail of Micah and Isaiah.

It was not the Jews alone who built a highway for the coming of the King. Every progressive people played a part. What we see in the *preparatio evangelica* that culminated in the inauguration of Christianity,

with Pentecost and its world-wide projection in apostolic history we may equally see in the whole course of its progress, with particular application in each new beginning of the mission of Christianity in the course of history. It is a commonplace of historical interpretation that Rome and Greece equally with Palestine set the scenes and provided the factors for "the fullness of the times" when God sent His Son and set upon the era of making universal the reign of His grace. All races have made or are to make their contribution to the unified race which God is producing through the Christian enterprise.

For the coming of the Christ and for His projection of His undertaking the Greeks were used primarily for intellectual preparation. Not that they alone thought or that culture was their only line of service, but that in this sphere they were foremost. Christianity emphasizes and develops human values. Its message requires certain ideas of human worth. The Greek sophists turned from physical nature to man as the basal fact in philosophy. Socrates centred upon the moral nature as the key to human meaning and exalted conscience as the voice of God in man—his *daimon*. The great dramatists, with their portrayal of the moral principles as determinative in history and destiny, shared with the philosophers in exalting ethics and in inoculating the Greek and Roman world with a scepticism that undermined the crass non-moral character of the mythologies and theogonies. They were the ethical prophets of the Greek people. Plato voiced the longing of the religious heart for some ideal man to show mankind the way of life.

The Greeks carried human speech to its highest perfection as a medium of personal expression and contributed their language of beauty and accuracy to the Græco-Roman world as the universal vehicle of culture and of business. It had a vocabulary and a grammar marvellously fitted for religious universalism, idealism and ethical challenge; and it came to this perfection just when the break-down of the Greek culture was emptying these words and phrases of religious content. Here were golden vessels emptied and ready for the rich content of the Christian faith and hope and love, into which Jesus and His followers poured their experience and revelation to be carried as the message of life to all. The Greeks taught men to think, overthrew for many the heathen systems of religion, and left unsatisfied man's need for God.

The Romans unified the world in an empire which they taught men to call, in the Greek language, "the inhabited earth" (*οἰκουμένη*). It was easier to grasp the meaning of the terms of unity and universalism which are characteristic of the mind of Christ when men of many races, tongues and cultures were bound and held together in one political and economic unity. At the same time the need could be felt for some principle and power for uniting variant human groups more vital and humane than political force. "Thus it came about that the universal religion was born into the universal Kingdom."

The imperial attitude toward religions was one of toleration for all existing religions, prohibition of all agitating or disturbing proselytism and prohibition of inaugurating any new religions without government authorization. Under this system, in the general conditions of the time, oppor-

tunity for dispassionate comparison of religions was afforded. Adherents of all religions would come together in Rome, and in other important cities. There was widespread questioning, decay of antiquated and inferior systems, much indifference to religion. All this seemed to open the way for a vigorous, vital faith with striking elements of novelty.

An era of peace within the empire and with external peoples, both directly and by various indirect influences, favoured attention to spiritual interests. At the same time human nature's abuse of peaceful conditions resulted, as so often it does, in material prosperity leading on to luxury, lewdness, materialism, oppression. Even so there was for thoughtful minds a demonstration of man's need for a truly redemptive religion.

Rome's internal administration provided facility, security and encouragement for travel, with its resultant interchange of ideas. The marvellous roads and their policing by the Roman soldiery; the varied and extensive commerce; the lure of curiosity and cultural interest combined to produce a movement to and fro never surpassed in human history until the nineteenth century. Truly the empire had cast up highways for the messengers of the King and kept them open for their progress with the Gospel.

The Latin language became the medium for the Gospel message in Western Europe and later in Central and Northern Europe, ultimately unfortunately to be made the "sacred" language for a large section of Christianity. The thought-forms of Christian theology for the Roman Church, to be inherited by the Protestant churches, were provided by the Roman law and the courts of its administration, especially the doctrine of righteousness. The ecclesiastical system of the Roman Church, as it developed in later periods, was clearly modelled after the organization and administration of the Roman Empire.

Pagan Rome was a field for the demonstration of the failure of men to make for themselves any satisfying religion, and yet of their inability to dispense with religion. There were cults, mysteries, sorceries, necromancy, astrology, pantheisms, polytheisms, eclecticisms, deification of emperors, every conceivable effort; yet men still waited for God. The Jews had professed Him but could not rise to the demand for sharing Him on terms that attracted. They did not proclaim Him as accessible save within the walls of their own exclusivism. Yet the world was, in all these ways, made as ready as God could make it through His providences among all peoples for the beginning of a work which must so largely make its own preparation by its progressive ministry and achievement. God could now come in Christ to reconcile the world unto Himself.

III

THE FOUNDING

THE missionary movement as a definite enterprise originated with Jesus Christ. According to the Scriptures, the missionary idea has its ultimate origin in the heart of God. The missionary message is delivered by men and as an organized enterprise among men it is carried on by the Church of Jesus Christ. It must therefore have a continuous origin in the hearts of men who have come to interpret God in terms of Jesus Christ and His spirit and method.

THE UNIVERSALISM OF THE RELIGION OF JESUS

The religious insight of Jesus from our first meeting of Him in the Gospels goes to the heart of God as spiritual Father. Early in His ministry He is reported as saying to a Samaritan woman that the Father is seeking worshippers, and that His worshippers "must worship him in spirit and in truth." They must deliver themselves from all bondage of place and of race, of tradition and forms. This is essentially His message throughout. He began by ignoring the superficial distinctions of orthodoxy, regularity, ceremonialism, and all else that was merely local and temporal in the religious expression of His day. The Temple and the synagogues were freely used by Him. The Temple seems to have had peculiar significance for Him, but His only recorded explanation of this is that it was His Father's house designed to be a "house of prayer for all nations." His zeal for it flowed in angry grief at its perversion from this divine design. To the synagogues He went because of their utility for religion and because there He found the people assembled. And always His concern was for reaching the people in order that He might bring them face to face with God Who was His Father and Who desired also to be their Father. But while He used Temple and synagogues when it lay in His way to do so, the field and the woods, the city street and market-place, the highway and the home, were to Him just as truly the house of God. For Him always religion was life responding to the presence and purpose of God in all the relations of life. Religion was personal relation to God, causing all who experience that relationship to express it in active love, righteousness, sympathy, justice, mercy and truth in the social relations in the midst of which our individual lives are lived and of which they must be a part. It was futile to make long prayers, to fast and to give alms, to perform any and all of the prescribed things of conventional religion unless these were prompted by the true inward religious experience and purpose which knew that it must find its living and testing in those human relationships through which the ideals of the heavenly Father are realized in human society.

The one topic of the preaching of Jesus was the Kingdom of Heaven, or the Kingdom of God—two phrases by which the same concept is approached from somewhat different angles and at least largely determined by whether the form of the thought was Hebrew or Greek. This concept of the Kingdom was with Him basal, constructive, all-embracing. It constituted His supreme passion, and He calls on all His followers to put it first in their thinking, their praying, their longing, and their whole-hearted and continuous effort. What He means by the Kingdom of God is not easy to define in all its details. Yet what it is essentially is obvious enough. He makes this quite clear in principle in "the Lord's Prayer." There He bids each individual worshipper to approach God as the "Father—of us (social plural)—who art in heaven." Thus He would have us relate ourselves religiously to God Who is our Father; to all other men, who equally hold the interest of God and in God's thought and purpose are bound up with the worshipper; and Whose character and aim with men is expressed by the thought that He is in heaven. His objective is to make earth harmonious with heaven. This God the worshipper is to approach with the character and intent of God dominating all his thoughts. Christian prayer is to seek correspondence of human conduct in all relations with the ways and will of God in heaven. This ideal and end must include all men. One who prays the Lord's Prayer must do so with this concept in his heart. His first concern is to be for the holiness of God's name in the thought of men: "Hallowed be thy name." The first great need in religion is that the character of God shall be recognized and responded to in the life of men. Thus the Kingdom of God, His rule in the life of mankind, will be realized in the free activity of man: "Thy kingdom come." This concretely expressed, as in the purpose of Jesus it must be concretely realized, means that on earth the good will of God will be experienced in operation even as it is in heaven: "Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth."

In His sympathies, and His interests and His work Jesus was always wholly human and cosmopolitan. In the unspoiled child He found the type for "the children of the kingdom." It was His universal human sympathy that brought Him into conflict with the guardians of religious regularity. They might have been able to tolerate such sympathy on His part as merely one man eccentrically following out a private notion of God and religion. But He gripped the imaginations and hearts of men. When an issue was made over this notion of His He persisted and continued to assert that God was expressing His attitude and will toward mankind through Him. He knew God; they did not know Him and had not seen Him; and their antagonism was due to their lack of faith and insight. This interpretation of religion He proposes to make determinative, not for Himself alone but for all men. By it men and their religious ideas and institutions are to be judged. His interpretation of God and religion must persist and must express itself in the coming of that kingdom in which centred the life of God among men.

Religion thus interpreted cannot be other than a religion for all mankind. Jesus was passionately in earnest about this. He was prepared to

die for it. He stood between the God of all men and all mankind, who must know His God as Father or they had missed the whole meaning of life. No one could accept His religion without sharing His passion. Any man who would follow Him must take up his cross, even as Jesus was already bearing His, and go on after Him to the utmost limit, in order that his God and his fellow-men might meet in the principle and experience of sacrifice. A religion based on this interpretation of God and His appreciation of humanity cannot but be missionary. Propaganda is of its very essence. It is out to win, because all life is worse than meaningless unless men and God come together in His Christ.

Jesus opposes institutions and leaders of religion wherever they intervene between men and God. In this He is at one with the great prophets. He never puts Himself in antagonism and opposition with men as men, nor with sinners as conscious and confessed sinners. Jesus does not attack social and political institutions, while He does denounce injustice, unrighteousness, oppression and all dishonesty of men who administer these institutions or use them selfishly. He does attack religious organization or institution whenever it abandons its proper function of a way of approach between men and God and makes itself a barrier between men and God. This is an evil tendency in all religious institutionalism. The highest religion may become a chief hindrance to Christ in bringing men to God and God's ideals by making of itself an exclusive way of approach to God and then assuming the rôle of judge of men who would respond to the call of God. We see the anger of Jesus burn most of all against the organized control of His own Jewish faith so as to use its institutions to remove God away from men and discourage men who would seek God in their deep need. In the end He had to set Himself definitely against the organization of His own ancestral religion, in which assuredly He traced His Father's preparation for Himself. The guardians of that religion in His day were so absorbed with their institution and obsessed with their own responsibility for it that they missed the meaning of the institution and failed to recognize Jesus Christ in His relation to it and to God. Thus they proved that they had not known the Father. The outward institution of the redemptive God put to death the Redeemer Whom God sent, because it would not accept His interpretation of the religion which it was supposed to embody.

In the same way Jesus Christ opposes all organized religion when its institutions and their guardian priests shut men away from God when He comes to them in the Gospel of His Saviour. Essential religion, which is the producing source in men of all their religions, would cause men to accept God coming to them in the fullness of the Gospel of Christ. Organized religions are apt to intervene and defeat or hinder the ends for which they were created. It is only on this ground and in this sense that the Gospel of Jesus Christ opposes and destroys religions. This principle the Church of Jesus Christ needs in every age and in every advance to take deeply to heart. For if His Church interposes its institutions between Him and the world which He seeks to save, it becomes His chief hindrance in fulfilling religion for God and for men. Let not any church forget that

the Jewish Church did to death the Christ for which it existed, and that He was compelled to lead His Church out of and away from the Jewish Church in order to go to humanity with His redemption. That history has repeated itself in the course of the centuries and may repeat itself in our present world.

JESUS TRULY INTERPRETS GOD

Jesus justifies His interpretation of God and of man and of religion first of all in His own clear consciousness. He had come out from the Father and was bringing from the Father life for the world. He knew man, "knew what was in man," and needed not that any one should tell Him. As "Son of God" and "Son of Man" He would make all the sons of men to be also sons of God; and He would make His Father to be also the Father of all men. Here is the end of religion, and it is to be accepted at once and acted upon as reality, sonship under God. Here, in Him, is the spirit of sonship, which cannot rest while any possible son has not learned to say "Father" to God.

Religious insight and immediate experience of God was the source of Jesus' interpretation of religion. But Jesus grounded this interpretation also in the Scriptures of the Hebrew religion. With these Scriptures He had saturated His soul and had filled His mind. In His ministry they were always on His lips. His interpretations were fresh, original, authoritative with reality. In His teaching He was only stating in explicit, homely and irresistible phrases what God had been saying through His messengers and in these Scriptures from the beginning. "Thus it was written." What He knew in experience He saw in the writing to be what God had put in them. Any other interpretation was ignorance and perversion. His Father was the God of the Old Testament and of all revelation however partial, incomplete and misunderstood. It was with no narrow yielding to external authority that He accepted the Old Testament. It was that He found there the beginning and the continuity of the expression of God's redeeming grace and its race-wide objective.

Jesus came of the Jews and once declared that "salvation is from (or of) the Jews." Thus He justified and perpetuated the unity and the continuity of the divine purpose and plan. He was not beginning something new. "God is one," and true religion must have an unbroken history. It will develop, expand, unfold, grow more comprehensive. Its inner principle must ever be the same. Jesus brought to clear light the nature of true religion and freed it from the misapprehensions and perversions it had suffered at the hands of those to whom it had been committed. He brought men back to the fact that salvation is from God and that religion must originate with Him. God's grace is first, man's response follows, and atonement is effected. "The grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men" in Christ Jesus. This was the same grace of the same God which had struggled through history to enlighten and lead men. It must be so if men "live and move and have their being" in God. The Jesus of Nazareth identifies Himself with the Christ of history and is so identified emphatically by John, by Paul, and by the author of the Hebrews,

the three different interpreters of the religion of the Christ—three who, with different approaches and different thought-forms, agree in their interpretation of Christ and Christianity as the supreme expression of God ever at work in history for the redemption, unification, and perfection of humanity. He is the interpreter of the past, the fulfiller of all that was promised and presaged in Israel's history and in the world's progress, and henceforth He is the Saviour and hope of all men, the builder of the Kingdom of God.

THE PROGRAMME OF JESUS UNIVERSAL

Jesus did not leave His religion with His followers without a programme. Men could not know Him and share His interpretation of God without entering upon a course of propaganda. Christianity would have been missionary without any explicit commands. Yet for this very reason its Founder could not fail to outline the task which He and those who had come to see God in Him would undertake. It is especially after His resurrection that we find this programme. It begins on the very day of the resurrection and is followed up upon every recorded meeting with groups of His disciples during the forty days until the ascension. "As the Father had sent Him into the world, even so sends He them into the world." He has brought a way of salvation for all men. 'He is the Way, and the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh to the Father but by Him.' Now 'whosoever sins they forgive will be forgiven; whosoever sins they retain will be retained.' Luke tells us (Acts 1:3) that during these forty days He was making His own identity absolutely unquestionable to these followers of His; and that He was further teaching them, "through the Holy Spirit, the things concerning the Kingdom of God." On the occasion of the ascension His followers desired Him to discuss with them that political and temporal Hebrew leadership of the world which a false interpretation of the promise and plan of God had engendered in the minds of even the more spiritual Jews. "Lord," they ask Him, "dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" They had learned that this worldly conception occupied at least secondary place in His thinking. Yet it must come now or later. When? He put the question firmly away. They must not allow this, or any other thing, to intervene in their thinking and interfere with their whole, sole devotion to the one task of bearing witness to Him. In the face of their redemption from sin and their knowledge of God as Father all other concerns of men must be secondary. In any case God—His God—could not give His Kingdom to men until the Kingdom was within men. This message His followers were to carry, as His witnesses, in Jerusalem; in all Judea-Samaria; and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. This commission, the verbal expression of His own passion which He imparts spiritually to everyone who knows Him, contains the programme of a religion whose first business it must always be to get on to the next man, the next group of men, until the knowledge of this God shall 'fill the earth even as the waters cover the seas.' His Church is never true to Him when it is seeking power, domination, control, dominion; but only when it is witnessing, inspiring, serving, redeeming. It is

never to be "of the world," but always for the world in behalf of God in Christ Jesus.

Nor does Jesus leave the matter with stating an ideal and exemplifying a spirit. He has a small group of men to whom He has "shown the Father;" and to whom He has also shown the world from the standpoint of God. He has set them down between the Father and the world. They must mediate. This is a divine responsibility. As "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," so also God will be in the followers of Jesus fulfilling "the ministry of reconciliation." As God had been seeking through the centuries, and continues to seek through the centuries, to incorporate in humanity His love; and as God had become incarnate in the person of His Son; it remains for God to incorporate Himself in the Holy Spirit in His Church. This "promise of the Father," which Jesus found alike in the words of the great prophets Isaiah and Joel, and in His own conscious participation with the Father in purpose and plan, Jesus gives to His followers. They "shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit," and are 'not to depart from Jerusalem nor undertake any testimony of Him until they are clothed upon by the Holy Spirit.' On Pentecost this promise was fulfilled. As at His own baptism the Holy Spirit came to "abide upon him" and as He had fulfilled His ministry in association with the Holy Spirit; so now the Spirit comes to abide in the Church. They and He—He through them and they in Him—are to take up the work of Jesus and carry it on as an enterprise for the redemption of all mankind unto the ends of the earth. The outstanding features in the significance of Pentecost are: (1) that God and men who know Jesus are united in their witness to Him; (2) that on every believer there present there rested a tongue of symbolic flame indicating that he was made a spokesman for the redemptive Kingdom of God; (3) that everyone there present, "from every nation under heaven," heard "in the language wherein he was born," the story of "the wonderful works of God." This was an emphatic way of saying that it was the will of God in Christ Jesus that every human being should hear in his native vernacular of the grace of God in Christ Jesus; (4) that the work of the Spirit of God was no longer to be limited to a professional class who would authoritatively pass upon the relations of men to God, but that upon all believing men and women God's Holy Spirit should come, male and female, bond and free, and that they should all "prophesy." The Christian interpretation of prophesying is exactly that which it etymologically suggests—speaking for God, telling men what God has to say to them. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit (essence) of prophecy" (Rev. 19:10); (5) that there was now inaugurated an active movement definitely designed to be universal, in accordance with God's purpose announced through the prophet Joel: "It shall be that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved;" (6) that the combination of enthusiastic men and the energizing Spirit of God incorporating Himself in the witnessing group brought conviction and acceptance of the new way of life. "They that received his word were baptized," three thousand of them immediately. The enterprise had begun. Thenceforward God was adding day by day to the number of those who were being saved.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PRODUCED BY MISSIONS

Jesus had left His followers with no written record, except in so far as the Old Testament was also their Bible in the sense in which it had been His Bible, only in that sense. There is no account of any suggestion on His part that they should write about Him. Still, writing was inevitable. This movement could not go forward without interpretation, and without definite, reliable, permanent record of the historic basis on which it rested. A religion every member of which was expected and inspired to be a propagandist would need to place in the hands of its following summaries of its historic foundations and reliable interpretations of its significance. An expanding Gospel rapidly reaching out into various parts of the world must have its missionary tracts containing summary outlines of the main features of Him in Whose name the whole movement went forward. Luke tells us that many took it in hand to draw up such manuals for these workers who were ever going farther and farther with the story. The Christian churches were being planted. They constituted a new social organism in the midst of the life of men. These new churches would meet all sorts of problems concerning their own inner life and in their relationships to existing social institutions and ways of life. The apostles and other great missionaries would need to guide in the interpretation of the life of the churches and of their reaction to the various moral and ethical problems which arose in their social relations. A force working so powerfully in the life of men as this Christian movement would raise intellectual problems. The individual Christians and the churches lived in the power of a super-human force working in them. This force they interpreted as that of the living Christ Whom they identified with Jesus of Nazareth. The Church was representing the Kingdom of God and was setting forth a social ideal which they believed to be the objective toward which history was moving in the definite purpose of God. They were preaching a new life produced and mediated by the direct impact of God on the individual and corporate life of man. Their "way of salvation" transcended and ran counter to all the gospels which men had known before and which men were preaching at the time. There was thus a series of thought-problems to which it was necessary that the mind of a Paul should be addressed. The Christian interpretation of God, life and destiny encountered objection from systems both religious and philosophic. The Church had to face controversies. From other religions and from philosophies was imported into the churches that which must either be refuted or incorporated within the Christian system, for Christianity could not avoid becoming in at least a general sense a system of thought as well as of life.

Persecutions also raised problems for the followers of the Christ Who, as they understood it, were to set up the Kingdom of God and to "overcome the world." Their experiences with religious, political and social persecution staggered some, discouraged many and made problems for all. These problems had to be faced and met with interpretations and assurances that became the common property of all Christians. Under all these impulses and needs there grew up in the expanding corporate life of the

Christian following a series of writings, twenty-seven of which ultimately came to be recognized as the essential documentary history and interpretation of Christianity as the world religion. Every one of these New Testament books was the product of Christianity conceived and operating as a missionary religion, carrying its Christ and His redemption to men as such, to all men. The books may all be classified as groups of literature of (1) an expanding Gospel, (2) a growing Church, (3) a developing theology, (4) a controverted faith and institution, (5) a persecuted people. This way of producing the literature of the Christian religion stamps it essentially and inevitably as a missionary literature and marks the religion as disloyal to its own inner spirit whenever and in whatever measure it fails in going into all the world with its witness. The Book of Acts is the first chapter of Christian history. In this book we find the typical idea which should control the writing of Christian history in all periods. It is the record of missionary activity in obedience to the spirit and commission of Jesus and under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Spirit Who is the source of the life and activity of the Church. In His introduction, Luke definitely connects Acts with the Gospel of Jesus. In that Gospel he has told the story of the incarnation of God in Jesus and of the work which "Jesus began to do and teach until the time that he was received up" at the ascension. This second book he writes as the Gospel of the Holy Spirit through Whom by means of His Church Jesus continued, after He was received up, to carry on the work which He inaugurated "in the days of his flesh." Luke had learned in his association with Paul, the world missionary, and by his own experience of the Holy Spirit that "the glorious gospel of the blessed God" consists of two parts: the Gospel of God incarnate in His Son and the Gospel of the Son incorporate in the Church, evermore bringing God into the life of the world. Such is Christianity.

In the Gospel of Jesus, Luke comes to his climax in the story, in the last chapter, of the Risen Lord "interpreting in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" to the group of followers in the upper room in Jerusalem and then laying upon them the responsibility of going forward "among all nations" to carry forward that which His life and death and resurrection had begun.

In the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, Luke tells how the Church began its missionary work when the Holy Spirit had come upon them on the day of Pentecost. Jesus had committed His followers, as His Church, to this undertaking, by His life, His teaching, His plans, His death, His resurrection and by the commandments which He gave them by the Holy Spirit during the forty days between resurrection and ascension. They accepted his commission; waited for the promise of His Father, as He had charged them; completed their organization of authoritative witnesses; gave themselves up to consecrating and expectant prayer. On the day of Pentecost the missionaries were waiting with the message and with the accepted responsibility; "men from every nation under heaven" were present to hear the message; the Spirit came in power upon them and set in motion God's mighty movement for redeeming mankind. This is missions.

IV

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF MISSIONARY HISTORY.

NEW TESTAMENT MISSIONS

WE have called the Book of Acts "The Gospel of the Holy Spirit." It seems clear that the human author so conceived it. He gives it no name. His introduction suggests one, and his treatment confirms the suggestion. In the first chapter we have an account of the promise by Jesus that the Holy Spirit would be sent upon His followers, bringing to them power in which they would be able to effectually to continue and extend His work by bearing witness to Him. With this promise they proceeded to make preparation for the coming of the Spirit, completing their simple organization, devoting themselves to prayer and generally putting themselves in readiness for the expected manifestation, whatever form it might take. With this account of the promise and the preparation for the Holy Spirit, in chapter one, we find in chapter two the story of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believers, and the taking up of the work committed to the Holy Spirit and these believers jointly; and thus we see the definite inauguration of the work of the Gospel of Jesus as a world Gospel. In the ascension commission (chapter one), Jesus had given a geographical outline for the activities of His followers. They were to begin in Jerusalem; extend their efforts in Palestine ("all Judæa-Samaria"); and thence out into the wider world, "unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Taking up the account in Acts, we find that all the incidents through chapter seven belong to Jerusalem, the first stage in the geographical programme. From chapter eight through twelve, the story has to do with characteristic experiences in "bearing the witness" in Judæa-Samaria, the second stage in the geographical programme. The work in Antioch lies beyond Palestine, to be sure, but was inaugurated, quite naturally, as an overflow from Palestine. From this point onward through Acts we have the account of the development of this new phase of the Christian message up to the point where it had become definitely recognized as a world-wide Gospel and as the proclamation of a religion for all men.

The story of Acts closes with Paul in the world's capital, Rome. Luke has then completed his story, the story of a movement beginning with the interpretation of God by the Carpenter-Preacher in Galilee, and closing with that interpretation of God already, in Christ, a working force in the life of the Roman Empire and potentially functioning in the redemptive religion for the human race. Throughout the story in what we call Acts, Luke has treated men as only the instruments of the Holy Spirit. He has not discounted the intelligence, the autonomy and the responsibility of men. He has fully recognized the human element in the work and in the problems. He has seen quite clearly the value of leadership on the part of

creative and constructive personalities. Peter and John, Paul and Barnabas, are all in their way tremendous factors and great builders. Yet for Luke they all have their value as agents in the unfolding of the divine purpose, a purpose made concrete and operative in Jesus and now carried forward in accordance with a plan of God, constantly developed and controlled by His Holy Spirit, working through the Church, as He does at all times. When Luke has brought the Gospel to the point of being a definite world factor he leaves off, even leaving his great friend Paul bound in Rome. He knows, as Paul knows and so buoyantly affirms when his own martyrdom is at hand (2 Tim. 2:9), that whatever may be the fate of individual representatives, even of the Peters and the Pauls, "the gospel is not bound." That is the end of Luke's chapter of the story. Other chapters will be written until the Christ has mastered the human race for its redemption.

CAUSES OF RAPID EXPANSION

The expansion of Christianity was rapid and startling. Throughout the first century it was distinctly a new movement. It had all the vital power of a new movement. The sense of the immediacy of God in the Holy Spirit was vivid, thrilling, and irresistible. The Christian following was everywhere still in the minority and was beset with conflicting interpretations of life and religion. The people for whom the Gospel was intended were everywhere present. Every church and every Christian was continually face to face with the unsaved multitudes whose need pressed in upon their consciousness. The presence of God in their life through the Holy Spirit was manifest in such "signs and wonders" as were for Christians and non-Christians continually arresting of attention and persuasive of confidence. Persecutions began early and continued with sufficient persistence and violence to make certain that few would enter the churches without vital experience and definite committal to the Christian undertaking. All these facts inspired the churches with enthusiasm, energy, and intelligent aggressiveness. These are characteristics most important for rapid growth and expansion, but extremely difficult to maintain once the movement has become definitely established in the life of the world and tends to be taken for granted by the masses of men, both within the churches and outside of them, as only one of the many forms of human ongoing. Herein is one of the supreme needs of Christianity, a need always supplied where there is the living sense of the divine life in the individual and in the organism. Arresting novelty and originality must attract attention and stimulate reaction favourable or unfavourable for any movement that is to grow rapidly and strongly among men. Vigorous life has this originality and novelty. Every springtime in nature stirs imagination, interest and activity with the new manifestations of life. A truly live Christianity is a stirring force in human life.

While it is not possible to give statistics concerning the Christian following by the end of the first century, nor to state with any clearness of detail the geographical extent and the locations to which it attained, it is clear that it had established itself in outstanding centres from Jerusalem

to Rome, and had gone as far eastward as Persia and India, had become extensive in Egypt and was beginning to reach into North Africa, had planted itself in many of the Mediterranean islands, including Cyprus and Crete, and had established outposts at least as far as Spain. It was an achievement to be accounted for only as a remarkably vital movement which was ministering to a very conscious need in soul-hungry men.

The new movement had gone far in interpreting itself in the face of its ever-expanding task. Paul had been led to interpret the Christian way of salvation, as distinguished from the legalism of Judaism and of all other systems—the Letter to the Galatians; to expound with matchless cogency the Christian doctrine of righteousness—Epistle to the Romans; and then to go on and set Christ and His Church against the background of cosmic history, as the movement of God “in the Church and in Christ Jesus” by which the “plan of the ages” was to be realized in the course of history—Epistle to the Ephesians. No interpretation of life and history has ever matched this for depth of thought, majesty of conception and religious appeal.

Christianity has come into contact with the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy with its Logos teaching, and with the Gnostic philosophy, as also with the Mystery Religions. In these connections it has come to interpret itself in terms of the best thought and the deepest longing of the mind and heart of man. It has come into definite conflict with the Jewish religion and has won its victory as the better interpretation of God's purpose in the Old Testament history and revelation. It has definitely appropriated the Hebrew Bible as part and parcel of the common divine approach to men, the consummation of which in Jesus Christ is the foundation of the Christian Church.

INAUGURATING FOREIGN MISSIONS

The preaching in Antioch, so far as the human agents were concerned, was merely a part of their customary witness to Jesus wherever they went. At first, as elsewhere, the preaching was “to none save only to Jews,” and to such Gentiles as associated themselves religiously with the Jews. Some unnamed Christian witnesses were Hellenistic Jews, *i. e.*, reared in Gentile communities where the Greek language and customs prevailed. These, on coming to Antioch, made a new departure and “preached the Lord Jesus even unto Greeks.” “And the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord.” Thus without any definite human consciousness or design of making a new stage in a world movement these simple-hearted Christians, in a perfectly natural way, brought the Church face to face with the heathen world. This was at first looked upon as a novel and exceptional extension of the witnessing within the range of the Jewish faith. It was so novel as to call for examination. “The report concerning them came to the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem; and they sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch; who, when he was come, and had seen the grace of God, was glad; and he exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they should cleave unto the Lord; for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith; and much people was added unto the Lord. And he went forth unto Tarsus to

look up Saul; and when he found him he brought him to Antioch. And it came to pass that even for a whole year they were gathered together with the church, and taught much people; and the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch."

This informal and unplanned breaking away from the limits of Judaism was soon to be formally and distinctly recognized. With chapter thirteen of Acts we see the formal inauguration of foreign missions. Here it is not a question of reaching beyond Jews to Gentiles; it is interpreting a distinctly Christian Church as a base of operation for carrying the Gospel unto the non-Christian world. "Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was *there*, prophets and teachers. . . . And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Then when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands upon them, they sent them away. So they being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleucia (the seaport of Antioch); and from thence they sailed to Cyprus." The Gospel had now entered formally upon the third stage of the ascension programme—"unto the uttermost part of the earth."

CONFLICT TO ESTABLISH THE SPIRITUAL UNIVERSALISM OF CHRISTIANITY

When the Gospel entered thus upon its geographical career as a world religion, it had not yet become in the minds of its followers a spiritually universal religion for the human race. Even when the Holy Spirit had led to the idea that an established and prosperous church with a growing membership should become the base of operations for wider extension and should divide its workers, sending the strongest to become missionaries in unevangelized territory, the majority had still to learn that the Christian Gospel must be permitted to make its direct approach to men as it finds them. It was at first assumed, without being seriously considered, that all would come to Jesus Christ through the Jewish way, that being the historic channel of His coming into the world and of the providential preparation for His coming. Pentecost had not necessarily raised any question as to this, for its converts were all in Jerusalem because they were Jews in religion if not also in race. Philip baptized believing Samaritans. Peter and John must needs investigate, in behalf of the apostles, and of all the Jerusalem church, and must witness the miracle-working "seal" of the Holy Spirit before they were ready to give the Gospel to other Samaritans as Samaritans. It required a vision-trance to bring Peter to preach to Cornelius and his friends who were worshippers of the one God but had not come into the Jewish fold. And Peter's testimony to his own vision, to Cornelius' vision of the angel and to the repeated "seal" of the Holy Spirit who "fell on them," as he said, "even as on us at the beginning," had to be confirmed by the "six brethren" whom he had had the foresight to take along with him. Even then he did not convince the church at Jerusalem, nor fully convince himself, that a principle had been revealed. "Then to the Gentiles did God grant (not 'hath granted'—aorist, not perfect tense) repentance unto life." They admitted an instance and had the grace to acquiesce; they did not yet accept a policy. God, not they, had done this.

So when Barnabas and Paul had accepted the full implications of their commission to the heathen and returned to report the founding of churches of Gentile converts in numerous cities and to announce that what "God had done with them" meant that "he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles," they raised a disturbing issue in the Christian Church. "Certain men came down from Judæa (to Antioch) and were teaching the brethren: Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses ye cannot be saved." Here was an issue of the most vital significance for the new faith, for any faith that aspires to be a world religion. It produced "no small dissension and questioning" in Antioch, and a commission including Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem to seek to come to terms with the Jerusalem church on the subject. In small committee and in open congregation, among apostles and elders and in "the whole church" it was argued and considered until unanimous agreement was reached so that they could report to the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, and thus to the world, that "it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things"—things that had to do with basal social morality and elemental religious feeling. In the conference Peter had given an amazing statement of the case. Through the experiences of the Gospel among Gentiles he said it had come to be seen that "we (Jews) shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they (the heathen)." Here was a twofold announcement of the profoundest significance. Jews were saved only "through the grace of the Lord Jesus;" that way of salvation was open to all without regard to previous relations. The Gospel appeal is to men as men and its salvation is through simple faith in Jesus as Lord, and is through direct approach, not through some form of religion hallowed by time.

It was a happy solution and carried the charter of universalism for the religion of the Lord Jesus. But it was too elemental to win permanent and universal acceptance. A "Judaizing party" continued to hold that Christianity must include Judaism. Their emissaries followed up the ever-growing free Christianity and, not without troubling success, sought to win the missionary churches to this interpretation. Paul had great trouble to save "the freedom of the Gospel for the Gentiles" in Corinth and Galatia. The division of opinion was widely promoted. Organized religion always tends to become formal, ceremonial, sacramentarian, sacerdotal. Not from Judaism alone did such tendencies enter the Christian churches. They came in with converts from whatever previous faith and they appealed to certain moods of the human heart. Paul and his friends had won a signal victory in the crucial contest at Jerusalem. But the fight had to be kept up. It tended to divide the Christian Church into two denominations: one insisting on holding to sacred traditions, claiming ancient covenants, boasting an appealing liturgy and becoming an imposing institution in the world's life; the other bringing God and His salvation into immediate contact with man—with every man—in Christ Jesus, emphasizing individualism and personal freedom, treating the Church as an agency of a saving Gospel and not as an institution of saving grace. There was a powerful movement toward an irresistible conflict between these two interpretations. To

Paul this seemed such a tragedy that to avert it no exertion and no sacrifice was too great. At imminent risk of life and in the face of most earnest warnings and affectionate pleas he went again to Jerusalem. He succeeded in saving Christianity from dividing at that time and gladly accepted the price of from four to five years' imprisonment for the holy achievement. It was two or three centuries before divisions did come. More men with Paul's insight, vision and passion for Christ and His Church might have saved the tragedy in other crises. We cannot look upon the history of Christianity and feel that Paul's contention for an unhampered Gospel of the redeeming God for all men has been consistently maintained. Even among those who would most vigorously claim Paul as their interpreter there is almost universal tendency to test the Christian faith and experience in terms of the Jewish religion and its ceremonies and to measure orthodoxy and regularity in ecclesiastical behaviour by the traditions of the Christian elders. This primitive struggle for the "freedom of the Gospel" must be studied afresh whenever Christianity seeks to respond to the call of its spiritual genius and go forth to bring the good tidings of its testimony to all men. Every new missionary undertaking has to face the question of formal regularity.

DIFFERENTIATING CHRISTIANITY FROM JUDAISM

The status of Christianity as an independent Gospel was established in this century through progressive development. At first the Christians thought of themselves as Jews come into the full meaning of their Judaism and enjoying the realization of the promises of God to the fathers. They were so conscious of a living Presence within them and among them that they gave little attention to the formal aspects of their religion or of the details of its historic connection. To them it was at first most natural that they should use the Temple in Jerusalem. Had not "the Lord come to his holy temple" and were they not His worshippers and messengers? The custodians of the Temple and of its religion were not long in opposing this assumption. Saul of Tarsus made it very evident that Christians were not to be tolerated in any Jewish circle. Yet it was as a Jewish heresy that he opposed the new faith and as a Jewish sect that he persecuted them unto the death. With Saul's conversion the sect came under new leadership. Meantime Barnabas had set his approval upon a movement that made Christianity more than a sect of any faith. When he and the now Christian Saul had joined forces in the important work in Antioch they were not operating a branch of any existing religion. They were now aware of the independence of Christianity as a religion in its own right of divine presence and power. Then the Holy Spirit made Antioch—not Jerusalem—the centre from which organized expansion was undertaken as a characteristic policy of Christianity. It was in its own right and character, not as a Jewish sect, that Christianity would enter upon its world career. Here was a fact the meaning of which would unfold with the growth of the movement. These men of Antioch were following what was for them unmistakably the leading of the Holy Spirit; were obeying a clear command of God.

The policy of the Roman Government toward religion was liberal and tolerant but with regulations important for avoiding conflicts and disturbances arising out of emotional intensity and partisan rivalry. Existing religions in any province of the empire might continue and be protected. There were religions enough. New ones would foment strife by winning proselytes. So long as Christianity was a sect of the Jews the Roman authorities could ignore its existence or leave Jewish authorities to deal with it as they were authorized to deal with all matters of religious regulation. In one way or another the new sect came to the attention of the Roman authorities and there were conflicts and questions. Paul and Silas were violently maltreated and thrown into prison at Philippi, but their Roman citizenship procured their release and the local magistrates were only too glad to evade any issue. Some ten years earlier Herod had persecuted Christians, even summarily executing the Apostle James and had planned to do the same with Peter. Still this came within his Jewish relations, even though he was also a Roman subject-king, and no issue with Roman law was involved. In Corinth a concerted action of Jews sought from Gallio, as proconsul, the prohibition of Christian activities under Roman law. By dismissing the case Gallio in effect gave legal standing to the Christian religion within the empire. In Rome itself the Jews emphasized the difference between Judaism and Christianity and helped in the insane orgy of Nero's persecution of Christians in order to save themselves from trouble. In the Book of Hebrews, written about the year 70, we have from the Christian side a clear-cut distinction drawn between Jews and Christians, which, however, takes strongly and clearly the position that Christianity is the successor to Judaism because it fulfills the meaning of Judaism, being the substance of that of which the Jewish liturgy and ceremonial was the type, the prophecy and the shadow. The book is based on the fact that the Jews had come to regard Christianity as a separate faith and were seeking to win Christian Jews to repudiate it and return to their own fold. Thus it was that within a single generation Christianity came to be known and recognized in all circles as an independent faith, in its claim and mission exclusive of even its historical progenitor to all of whose spiritual values it laid claim.

This separate standing had its advantages and disadvantages. When the Christian way was opposed the way to persecution was open and easier. When the feeling was friendly, any one would feel free to identify himself with a Christian church without violating any Roman law or jeopardizing citizenship, if he held that distinction. As a distinct religion with its own institutions, Christianity was new and its origin and status uncertain before the law, and it would be easy to invoke official repression. Twice within the first century imperial authority sought its extermination as a dangerous novelty within the social organism.

DEFINING THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

While Christianity was freeing itself from the Jewish Church and defining its attitude toward Jewish history and theology it was winning to its membership men with other background and inheritance of religion

and culture. As a religion of redemption it came into contact and competition with the various "Mystery Religions." It had the advantages of a definite historic Founder, Who was also its Saviour; of the highest ethical appeal; of seeking to minister to all classes without distinction and with no esoteric secrets and initiations. If this lacked the attraction of mystery which appeals to some it also had the power of universal appeal and challenge to the highest idealism. It was necessary to develop an attitude toward other religions and a technique in dealing with them. Eclecticism and amalgamation were very current in the Græco-Roman world and constituted an especial danger for the new faith. Here was a danger that must always be present in varying degrees. It began to be felt from the first. The Christian way of meeting it in the first century was freely to recognize the truth wherever it was met, to lay hold on the characteristic terminology of prevailing and opposing systems and to refine and enlarge the content of the terms so that they would hold the truth with its Christian extension. Thus John deals with the *Logos* (Word) idea of Jewish Alexandrian religio-philosophy. Thus Paul appropriates the terms *mysteria* ("mysteries"), *pleroma* ("fullness"), *sophia* ("wisdom"), and a group of terms used to designate orders of beings supposed to intervene between supreme deity and humanity. In the same way the author of Hebrews had appropriated for Christianity the terminology of the Hebrew liturgy and sacrificial system; and Paul found all essentials of the Hebrew law fulfilled and expanded and superseded in Christ, Who was "the end of the law for righteousness to every one who believeth." The apostolic method was to avoid the antagonism of contradiction on the one hand and equally to avoid the error and weakness of amalgamation and compromise on the other hand. The Christians claimed all truth and would unite all truth-seekers; while they formulated the truth according to their own genius with the personal Redeemer and Lord as the formulating principle, and maintained the integrity of their own churches as the social, religious units of their own religion.

DEVELOPING CHRISTIAN STRATEGY

Paul and his associates adopted a simple missionary strategy. The political territorial units usually served for religious units also. While "all nations" were ever before them as they went to make their Christ the Saviour and Master of the "inhabited earth" (the "*world*" of the New Testament vocabulary), it seems fairly certain that Paul set before his own vision the Roman Empire as his own parish. He adopted the province as his unit for evangelization. Selecting the chief city—or more than one—for base of operations, he organized campaigns to evangelize the population centres and thus to cover the province. Luke records that with Ephesus as the base "all they that were in Asia heard the word." This is typical. Converts were organized into churches of which the city with its suburbs and environs made up the constituency. With one organization for all Christians in such a region and with a plurality of convening and evangelizing centres, all under supervision of one board of "elders," it was possible to place responsibility for all the community upon the city

church, and to provide for bringing the message to all the people. Provision was made for the instruction of the converts, for the autonomous life of the church, with its officers chosen from its own membership, and for cultivating the sense of fellowship in spiritual unity with all Christians everywhere. Each group was taught to depend upon the Holy Spirit within themselves, to assume full financial and administrative autonomy, to "guard the unity of the faith in bonds of peace."

For the unity of the Christian movement they depended upon spiritual bonds and undertook no mechanical union. The one Church was the Body of the Christ growing to complete manhood in the progress of the living Gospel. This one Church had no organic form and so no central administration. Like its Lord, it was a spiritual fact present in the life of the world, locally organic in the church groups built up in each city community.

The Christian religion was a way of life as well as an experience of Salvation and hope of eternal life. Jesus had always applied the test of fruit-bearing. There was no ground for claiming connection with Him by piously saying, "Lord, Lord," unless there was the doing of the things He said. He had come "to fulfill all righteousness," to get the will of His Father done on earth as it is in heaven. This supreme moral demand was part of the apostolic programme. To the penitents on the day of Pentecost Peter emphasized most strongly the call to save themselves from the crooked ways of their own generation. Paul urged that "the Lord Jesus Christ gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us out of this present evil age, according to the will of God our Father" (Gal. 1:4). This was an unvarying factor in the Christian message. "The salvation-bearing grace of God had appeared unto all men, instructing us to the intent that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present age; looking for the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous for good works" (Titus 2:11-14). They were always so to live that men should see their good works and glorify their Father Who is in heaven (1 Pet. 2:12, referring to Matt. 5:16).

This high ethical demand brought many problems for the churches in the social order of the day. Social regeneration was an essential feature of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Social reconstruction would inevitably follow the success of this movement. It avoided becoming a mere social movement by proposing no social schemes for mankind generally. It sought eagerly to exhibit new social ideals in its own church groups and to exalt the will of the holy and righteous God in His message of salvation to all men. High social living, loyal and ideal citizenship even in sadly defective and often unfriendly governments, and generous social concern for all men were pressed upon the converts in all the churches. The moral and ethical levels came to distinct elevation in the Christian communities everywhere.

STATUS OF CHRISTIANITY AT CLOSE OF APOSTOLIC ERA

Thus at the close of the Apostolic Age, Christianity has become a recognized fact in the life of the world, a fact of tremendous proportions and

significance. And this because it has become a factor in the world's life. Already the leaders of every phase of organized society knew that they had to reckon with the Church as an influence and an institution. Christianity was now a recognized competitor of all other religions, but proclaimed its Christ as the only hope and only law of mankind. It did not consciously compete with others for the favour and following of men. It proclaimed its Christ as the only Saviour of men, who were lost and hopeless apart from Him. It was not concerned for its own glory, it was passionately concerned for men, as lost, and for Christ as the One worthy of all acceptance and praise because He had given Himself to be the Saviour of all men. Christianity had already gained an influence entirely disproportionate to its actual following. And this following by the end of the century must already have approximated a million. The political powers had recognized it and had undertaken two distinct, extensive movements to suppress it. For the most part the world of culture was by this time only beginning in any large way to take note of Christianity, although we must not overlook the Gnostics and Philo. At first the attitude of culture toward Christianity was one of contempt, with the effort to ridicule the Christians into silence and discredit. The salient fact is that the world knew that it was having to deal with a new factor which could not be ignored. Christianity was aggressive and challenging. Its ideals might be too high to be practicable, its teachings "too good to be true." Yet it was not merely another movement competing for the attention of men and claiming the adherence of followers; it was a Gospel to the "weary and heavy laden," an inspiration to the noble and the energetic of spirit. It was more than groups of fanatics devoted to a peculiar way of life, who might be left alone to follow their own superstitions and oddities within their own circles; it had a social ideal that might easily lead men to formulate social programmes that would reconstruct the organization of all human life. In any case its social ideals and social standards were a continuous rebuke to the life of the day and compelled men to consider the possibility of a new order of life. The world was definitely reacting to this new force. The forms of its reactions were varying and as yet largely uncertain; but they were sufficiently extensive and sufficiently vigorous for the Church to know that she must meet opposition, face persecution, pay a heavy price for the privilege of preaching the Gospel and bringing the Kingdom of God into the life of men,

V

FIRST PERIOD: PENTECOST TO CONSTANTINE

A. D. 29-313

THE periods of missionary history do not coincide with the periods of general Church history. There would naturally be a general correspondence. The history of missions must place the emphasis on expansion into new territory, while Church history, as it has been written, places the emphasis on doctrines, ecclesiastical forms, organization, creeds, and upon internal developments, and contacts with secular life. Church history finds its main interest in countries and areas where the Church is strongest. Missionary history deals with beginnings in new territory. Neither can ignore the field of the other. There is necessary interrelation. Yet it is important that the history of missions shall have its periods whether, as sometimes will be the case, they coincide with the recognized periods of ecclesiastical history or not.

Christian missions begin with Pentecost. It seemed best to deal with the earliest efforts in a separate chapter (IV) before beginning to trace the continuous current of the history. Having studied the source, we can go on to trace the stream. Our periods will now be determined by the dominance of characteristic facts and features of the different areas in the expansion of Christianity over the world. We begin with the union of the Holy Spirit and men who have committed themselves to Jesus Christ and His enterprise, as they take up together the witness to Jesus as the Saviour of the world. This union of disciples and Holy Spirit was dramatically and definitely effected in the Pentecost experience. From that time we have, in varying degrees of loyalty and success on the part of the Church, the carrying out of the plan announced by Jesus (John 15:26 ff.): "But when the Comforter (Challenger) comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of Truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear testimony of me; and you, on your part, also are to bear testimony of me; because you have been with me from the beginning." The New Testament tells us how this movement began and proceeded in its first stages. There we observe it trying itself out as factor in human life. In its earliest stages it was dominated by its consciousness of being a divine movement, divinely organized, empowered, directed and sustained. Born of spiritual experience, it was at first individualistic, yet, with all the individuals united in a characteristic experience, it had its common source in the Living Christ. So there was cohesion, unity and co-operation. The aim was to prepare the world for the Christ Whose coming to take control of the world was for them so definite an expectation as to seem imminent. This gave urgency and definiteness to their task. Their ideal, to

begin with, was largely spiritual. Their faith was marked with great simplicity. They were witnesses to a divine energy operating in the world because of the presence of a Supreme Person. They had not yet developed any distinct system and were not propagating a religion as such. Their various congregations, rather loosely organized, were not thought of as fractional units of a composite and powerful organization, but rather as life centres and functioning units of a growing organism that was creating a new society in the midst of the human race. The original impulse of this movement is traceable throughout the period until the union of the Church and State under Constantine. In all respects, however, we have to observe in the course of this period the development of a church-consciousness and a world-consciousness. Jesus had said that His followers were not of the world even as He was not of the world, and that their success in representing Him and their loyalty to Him would separate them from the world and would bring upon them the hatred and antagonism of the world. At first this separateness from the world was strong in their consciousness. Whereas at first Christians largely ignored the world except as the field of their testimony, as something from which they were separated, it was not many decades until they were making themselves at home in the world while depending upon divine power to enable them to conquer the world and to protect them from it. As local churches increased in number and in variety, as they were influenced by the various social and political environments under which they began and grew, the sense of unity was more and more mediated by a stronger bond of outward union. The large metropolitan churches tended constantly to overshadow and to dominate the churches in other cities, towns and village districts. Inter-relationships with secular institutionalism affected the attitude of the Church toward society and especially toward the political state. The imperialistic atmosphere of the age contributed toward the building up of a sense of authority in the centres which necessarily exercised widest and most powerful influence over the Christian units in the large areas. The ambitions of able leaders played their part in converging tendencies toward the making of Christianity an organized system with centralized powers of administration, at length issuing in the concept of one all-comprehensive Church with its authority localized in Rome. It is not possible or necessary to trace this operation in detail here. We take account of determinative facts and factors up to the union of Church and State under Constantine. Here was a fact that changed definitely the concept of the mission of the Church and marks the transition to a second period of the development of the Church and of a change in its methods of missionary expansion.

PROBLEMS OF A SPIRITUAL FORCE IN A PRACTICAL WORLD

The primitive individualism of the churches waned under the advance of the influence and authority of the Church. The individual was thus progressively eclipsed, and individual initiative and independence in the witness to Christ grew less and less. The Gospel as a simple testimony to the redeeming grace of God in Jesus Christ tended more and more to become the proclamation of a system of truth. The system must needs be

defined in dogmas. The Christian movement as it progressed experienced interactions with other social factors, and the growth of a unified church-consciousness opened the way for accommodations, adjustments, diplomacy, modification, compromise. That is the common lot of all human movements, especially as they become institutionalized. It was not possible for Christianity to begin as a completely developed form of life, thought and institution. No vital human movement can become completely defined and thoroughly fixed. Every movement as it formulates a system tends to become complete and exact. If it succeeds in exact definition and stabilized formulation, it dies and is left behind. It must grow in interaction with the facts and forms of the life of which it is a part and which it undertakes to direct. The consciousness of heavenly origin and aim in the Christian religion must always be difficult to maintain in the actual contacts with the realities of human life. An ideal system and institution would lack effective contacts with life in the world which professedly is seriously in need of change in all its forms. To maintain the balance between being an influence and an energy of God for the purpose of regenerating and reconstructing the life of the human race on the one hand, and being a practical, social reconstructive agency on the other hand is too delicate an undertaking for us to expect it to be maintained with consistency and uniformity. But it must at least be persistent and must be ever reasserting itself. The New Testament defines the task of Christianity as the remaking of the human race, whereby the racial, political, economic, social, and religious fragments of the race are, by regeneration and by attachment to the Church of God as the informing centre of all life, built into the new human race. Within this first period, therefore, we witness the formations, developments, and modifications which come about in the Christian movement as it grapples with its task in the conditions and relationships of a world which it is undertaking definitely to change. We have the growth from a movement of life into an institutionalized Church. There was also a distressing dimming of the vision of the nature of that task. We are to trace in outline the progress of achievement, taking note of the modifications within the movement itself as they affect the growth of Christianity as a world-changing force.

METHODS OF THIS PERIOD

Throughout this period the oral witness to the power and purpose of Christ continues to be the main instrument in Christian work. Preaching becomes more formal and professional, but without losing its power, while a non-professional witness of individuals to their own experience continues to be the main influence in development, although with lessening of enthusiasm and conviction. "Miracles" come to be relied upon far less than in the beginning. Before the end of the period the great theologian, Origen, is definitely explaining that miracles have disappeared as a distinct agency of Christianity because they are no longer needed. He finds their chief function that of validating Christianity as a divine movement, and not as in the case of Jesus and the first century missionaries, an instrument of the Gospel undertaking.

The apostles set the example of the use of literature as a means of Christian progress and interpretation. Others followed their example. Barnabas, Clement, and others were writing "epistles," or their names were being used by others who wrote, while some of the apostles were still alive. This use of literature continues and grows until it becomes an extensive means of promoting the Christian cause. Besides letters to churches and groups of churches, treatises explaining and defending Christianity against misunderstanding and assaults were numerous, some of them very able and exercising permanent influence in the life of Christianity. There were those also who undertook a polemic against pagan practices and systems, producing powerful arguments to show the folly, irrationality and ineffectiveness of idolatry and of the moral and ethical ideals and rules of pagan systems. Works dealing with the relation of the Christian foundations to the teachings of philosophy were addressed to the cultured element in the life of the empire. The "Apostolic Writings" were widely circulated as individual documents and in groups, while progressively there grew up a general understanding of what came later to be called the "New Testament Canon." This group of writings came to have a sort of authoritative value for all the churches, most of which possessed one or more copies, either complete or partial. It early became obvious that the Christian Scriptures should be translated into other languages for the benefit of those who did not understand Greek. These translations were a necessary part of the missionary expansion which was continued without cessation, although with some abatement, through this period. We find translations, beginning within the first hundred years of missionary work, into Syriac, with versions slightly different; Latin, probably two or more translations; Ethiopic, and Armenian, all before the end of this period. These translations and the other literature were not only a means of extension in the missionary work but a great factor in the permanence and historic continuity of the movement, as they also served to promote uniformity of experience, belief, and institution in the widespread areas into which Christianity was going. But for these writings and for the extensive travels in visitation, ministration and "confirmation" of the saints and the churches, the various social and economic conditions in the different parts of the world would have brought about sectional and fractional development which would have prevented any effective unity in Christianity in the early centuries.

The succession of missionaries who employed writing as a method is continuous from the apostles and includes many names within these first centuries.

Justin, born in Palestine of heathen parentage, at the beginning of the second century, enjoyed the advantages of education and travel. He devoted himself to philosophy. He shared the contempt of the cultured for the simple Christians until their bearing under persecution so impressed him that his sense of justice called for some one to cry: "Shame, shame on the guilty, who charge upon the innocent the crimes of themselves and their gods!" While he was thus in sympathetic attitude an old Christian fell in with him, showed him the futility of the philosophers and turned his attention to the Old Testament prophets. He was led on to know and

accept Christ. He became thenceforward a missionary especially to the cultured and ruling classes, retaining the rôle and garb of a philosopher. He claimed that he was a philosopher because he had found "this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable." He was eager for all men to share his experience. He says: "Moreover, I would wish that all, making a resolution similar to my own, do not keep themselves away from the Words of the Saviour." Labouring extensively in various regions, he made Rome his chief field. There he wrote two "apologies," formally addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, to his son Verissimus, and his adopted natural son Lucius, both of whom Justin designates as philosophers, and to the sacred Senate. He presents his "address and petition in behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and wantonly abused, myself being one of them." He shows the injustices, weaknesses and moral depravities of heathenism and, in contrast, the simplicity, rationality and moral exaltation of Christianity. He is broad in his sympathies, recognizes the values in all truth in any religion and attributes religious insight and idealism to the universal Spirit of Christ, wherever found. To these works he added a more elaborate work, *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew*, after the manner of Plato's Dialogues in which he compares religions on broadly generous principles and urges Christianity as the fulfillment and consummation for all of them. He was widely influential, but paid for his faith with his death in Rome, in 163, and has been known through the centuries as "the Martyr."

Tatian was another "literary missionary" in Rome. He was an extensive student of religions, but had less sympathy with them than Justin, who was his teacher. The Old Testament played a large part in his Christian conversion, just as with Justin. He wrote extensively "Against the Greeks." His great service was the *Diatessaron*, the first *Harmony of the Gospels*, which gave the second century, and subsequent Christianity, the orderly story of the ministry of Jesus in this complete form.

All the numerous "Ante-Nicene Fathers" were in varying degrees missionaries of the pen, as well as of the voice. They were active in, and from, many centres throughout the empire, and produced scores, if not hundreds, of works designed, wholly or in part, for the extension of the saving Gospel. Commodianus among others was writing in Syria. His instrument was poetical ridicule, *Instructions to the Gods of the Heathen*, and *An Apologetic Song Against Jews and Gentiles*. In Egypt there was a brilliant succession in Clement, Origen and Athanasius; in Athens, Quadratus and Aristides. North Africa from the second century began to be an important intellectual centre of Christianity until it was pre-eminent for a time in the fourth and fifth centuries. Here the earliest Latin version of the Scriptures was produced in the second century. Tertullian was the first great light and leader. Converted at the age of forty, he brought at once his ability and learning, as a lawyer, to the service of the missionary Gospel. His insight and ardour were remarkable. Almost at once he was writing to prove the unique superiority of Christianity over pagan religions. To persecuting Roman powers he said: "Go zealously on. . . . You will stand higher in favour with the people by sacrificing

Christians. . . . Kill us, torture us, condemn us, grind us to dust. . . . Yet your cruelty does not avail. . . . The oftener we are mown down . . . the more numerous we grow; the blood of Christians is seed." This last phrase states a principle which became a permanent element of practical Christian faith, expressed in the motto: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."

Tertullian was followed by Cyprian and Arnobius, in this period; and they were preparing the way for the great Augustine, who, as we shall see, did not feel the missionary fire as did these men. Arnobius was an especially prolific and forceful writer. Cyprian had written *On the Vanity of Idols* and *A Testimony Against the Jews*. In Sicca Vaneria, out of a vicious pagan environment Arnobius produced an elaborate work *Against the Heathen*, wherein he quotes at great extent from classic writers.

These must suffice to indicate a widespread use of writing as a means of extending the faith of the Gospel—the salvation of God in Christ.

A TEACHING RELIGION

The unity and intelligence of the Christian following was also promoted by the use of catechetical schools and classes in all the churches. Christianity was characterized from the first as a religion of light. It called for intelligent understanding and ministered enlightenment and rational growth. Its Founder was Teacher, Preacher, Healer of Diseases. Its greatest missionary and interpreter declared himself to be a divinely "appointed preacher, apostle, teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth." Christianity combatted the superstition and emotionalism that were—and always are—so common on the lower levels of human intelligence and which constitute so large an element in most religions of men. Equally it avoided the conceit of exclusive Gnosticism so prevalent in the early centuries when various cults of mystery initiated only those who had passed through special preparations and claimed to have experienced a mystic enlightenment. Again Christian morality faced its people with endless questions of conduct in the practical social relations of a world organized after pagan ideals and lack of ideals. In a word, Christianity was a teaching religion. Its light was the Life of men. Knowledge was essential to its growth and to its mission. Immediately after Pentecost we read that "they who believed were applying their strength to the apostles' teaching." In the Matthew form of the "Great Commission," followers of the Lord were told to go into all the world and cause people of all nations to become learners—"make disciples (pupils) of all nations." Then when they had entered the school through the symbol of baptism the order of the commission was to teach them to observe all the things Jesus had commanded. The method Jesus used, and contemplated that His religion should use, above all else, teaching as the way of accomplishing His purpose. It was of the very essence of Christianity to become a teaching religion and to create and promote intelligence and culture. Such a course was necessary to its life in the environment in which it arose. Its nature and its need combined to make of Christianity, from its first day, a cultural force with its schools and methods of instruction.

A definitely missionary agency was the training school. The prototype of this is found in the method of Jesus with His peripatetic "school of apostles," training under His teaching and direction throughout His public ministry. Paul followed the example of his Master and had with him, from the first missionary journey and onward, continuously, groups of helpers and learners who were training for leadership in the great and ever-growing movement. As Christianity became more definitely established, schools for training its leaders and missionaries were localized in great centres. In the second century we find important schools in Antioch, Edessa, Cæsarea, Selucia-Ctisephon and elsewhere. In the original schools for training Christian leadership the Gospel passion for missionary expansion was the primary motive. Theological definition and formulation did not dominate as so often in later centuries.

Christian men serving in the armies of the Emperors provided an agency which was extensively effective in spreading Christianity. They were able to witness to their fellow-soldiers and to the people in the various communities where they were stationed. Upon their retirement from service, soldiers were often rewarded with allotments of land in new territories with special facilities and privileges. Christian soldiers are known thus to have become founders of churches and Christian communities in south-eastern Europe and probably elsewhere. Among the merchants, traders and journeyman labourers who went to and fro in the commercial age were devoted Christians who used these opportunities for witnessing to their experiences of the Saviour and to His passion for saving all men. Here was an important method which cannot be recorded in any detail. It was wholly unprofessional and few records of such work were made. It was the continuation of what we read in Acts 8:4: "They who were scattered abroad by reason of the persecution that arose in connection with Stephen went everywhere preaching the word." For whatever reasons they travelled, the early Christians were evangelists. Such was the primary conception of the "Great Commission" in Matthew, where the imperative word is "make disciples." The "go" is expressed by a participle: "As ye go, make disciples." Here is one of the chief secrets of the remarkable spread of early Christianity, even as it is of the notable spread of Mohammedanism in modern Africa. It is a desideratum of present-day Christianity.

EXTENT IN FIRST PERIOD

How extensive Christianity became by the beginning of the fourth century there are no records that are reliable. Estimates have varied so widely as to indicate that they are wholly unreliable, all the way from five million to one hundred million. Harnack, in his notable work, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, has given the most complete information available. He classifies the territory known to be affected by Christianity within this period under four divisions.

(1) As areas in which Christianity numbered something like half the population and was already the prevalent, or at least dominant religion, he names all Asia Minor, that part of Thrace bordering on Bythnia, Armenia.

(2) Christianity numbered a very large fraction of the people and

greatly influenced culture and social life, and was a rival of other religions in Antioch and throughout much of Syria, in Cyprus, in Alexandria and Egypt, in Rome with all lower and a large part of central Italy, in Proconsular Africa and Numidia, in Spain and the islands south of Gaul, and in such parts of Achaia, Thessaly, Macedonia, as our sources of information cover.

(3) He finds the extent of Christianity limited, at the opening of the fourth century, in Palestine, with local exceptions; in Phœnicia, except in the coast cities where it was more extensive; in Arabia, a section of Mesopotamia, and probably western Persia. In the remoter sections of the Grecian provinces, some of the provinces of Asia Minor, upper Italy, while Christianity had been preached, its following was limited. The same is to be said of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and the districts of Mauritania and Tripoli.

(4) He finds that Christians were few, if to be found at all, in certain districts of Italy, middle and northern Gaul, Belgium, Germany, or Rhætia; in India, Persia, Scythia, Philistia and the northern and northwestern coast of the Black Sea.

This summary indicates the marvellous energy and the great success with which the Christian Gospel had been proclaimed in barely three centuries. The Christian following already numbered many millions within the Græco-Roman world and had its adherents in territories lying quite beyond the imperial regions. If information were available, it is morally certain that substance would be found for the traditions of the widest range of effort from the first generation onward, and there would be instructive explanations for the failure to make results permanent in these wider areas. As a social influence and as a factor in the religious, ethical, economic, and political life of the world, Christianity was vastly greater than the proportion of its numbers to the total population. It was a vital, growing and aggressive force in the midst of decline, decay and disintegration among all the other factors which go to make up a civilization. Greek and Roman literature had entered into definite and final decline. Christianity had begun a career in literature which was already producing documents that were forceful, influential and worthy, although not yet entering upon a career of polite literature in which it was in coming centuries to take the lead. The empire was falling to pieces. There arose powerful statesmen, generals and emperors, but decay and division progressed. The restless and vigorous heathen German and Slavonic hordes were beginning their encroachments. These invaders begin within this period to be an object of Christian evangelization. Similarly the aggressions of the Parthians are producing their shocks against the stability of the Mediterranean civilization, and are beginning to open up doors of opportunity and challenge to the Christian missionary. Paganism is outgrown and discredited, but retains a powerful grip on the illiterate and superstitious masses. Great minds with organized effort and influence undertook to revise and reform pagan religion into a vital and sustaining force for society. Two distinct efforts on a large scale failed before the forces of intelligence and the vital power of Christianity and of other religions of redemption and moral idealism.

Christianity finds itself in competition with several systems that offer

to men knowledge of spiritual reality, moral ideals and redemption from sin and future ruin. The Mystery Religions offer extensive, vigorous and persistent opposition to Christianity in many countries, and especially in political, social and cultural circles, while the cult of emperor worship was from the beginning a serious obstacle to the exaltation of Jesus Christ as Lord of all. By the end of this period Christianity is definitely winning the victory as the supreme hope as the religious factor in human life, because, as Dr. Glover has so well said, "The Christians out-thought, out-lived, and out-died" the followers of all other faiths. It has withstood local persecutions and antagonisms through the entire period. "Twice the empire had put forth all its utmost resources for the suppression of Christianity root and branch. Christians were fined, imprisoned, banished, forced to work in the mines, executed by burning or being thrown to the lions. The churches were laid in ruins, the buildings destroyed or confiscated, the Bible burned." These persecutions under Diocletian and Trajan were far more extensive and determined than those under Nero and Domitian in the first century.

Literary propaganda and oratorical attacks were levelled against the Christian movement; campaigns of slander and ridicule were carried on. "The only response which the Christians made to this opposition and persecution was heroic sufferings and earnest oral and written argument." When Constantine terminated the persecution within the empire, in 311, the seal of official recognition was placed upon Christianity as the supreme moral influence in the Roman Empire. The triumph has been expressed by an allegorical illustration of a lamb that went out to meet a lion, a tiger, and a bear; and not only was not destroyed but returned leading lion, bear, and tiger captive. Christianity had withstood the lion of political authority, the bear of social contempt, the tiger of religious hate, and had measurably mastered them all.

SURVEY OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

The progress of the missionary movement through this period cannot be traced in the various geographical units in detail. Typical examples of the work may be summarized. It should be kept in mind that on Pentecost there were assembled religious pilgrims "from every nation under heaven." From among all these there were converts. Moreover, at the three annual feasts in Jerusalem the pilgrims from various lands would come in contact with the Gospel, which was making such a stir for several years until the persecution under Saul of Tarsus checked the activities. These pilgrims would return to various lands with the story of the Christian Gospel and work. Christians travelling and changing residence for various economic reasons were everywhere "preaching the Word" and founding the new faith. From the going forth of Barnabas and Saul, missionary work was increasingly carried on by definitely organized effort. Churches planted in every important city centre assumed responsibility for evangelizing their own areas throughout the provinces in which they were located.

ASIATIC COUNTRIES

(1) Beginning with Asia, where Jerusalem and Antioch were the first

centres, the progress varied in different countries. The New Testament records give us no account of the work of nine of the twelve apostles. Traditions indicate that most of them found their work eastward. This would be altogether natural, since here they would find the greatest number of Hebrew peoples and the most extensive knowledge of the Jewish religion. Unverifiable and in large part unreliable traditions connect the name of Thomas with the beginnings of Christianity in Persia, India, and even in China. This indicates that he did do extensive work in these directions. Peter's first epistle is written from "Babylon." This is usually taken to be a cryptic designation of Rome. There is a break of many years in our knowledge of Peter's work and whereabouts. Being the "apostle to the Jews," it would be altogether natural that he should have extended his supervising work into the regions eastward of Palestine, where it is certain Christian groups were formed in the apostolic period.

In Syria, Antioch was the first and always the greatest centre. Half the population became Christians, and their influence largely controlled the life of the city. Both Trajan and Julian failed in their efforts to overthrow Christianity. Edessa became a second centre and Damascus another. The Scriptures were translated, missionaries were trained and sent in all directions, the first Christian meeting-house of which we have definite historic record was destroyed by flood in 203. Among the great Christian leaders, Syria was the home of Justin Martyr and Origen.

Ephesus was only the chief of many centres from which Asia Minor was evangelized, and became a source of aggressive Christianity. Here in Asia Minor were nurtured the three Gregorys who are reckoned among the early Fathers. Gregory, the Illuminator, was reared in Cappadocia, a Parthian trophy of war. He became the great missionary apostle to the Armenians. After spending fourteen years in prison because of opposition to his mission, and more especially because of his being the sole survivor of a Parthian enemy of the Armenian Kings, he won the royal house to the faith, and Christianity was made the state religion in 302, the first example of this unfortunate policy. Gregory had many helpers, brought about the baptism of hundreds of thousands, inspired King Tiradates with missionary zeal and accompanied him on his royal journeys, and preached to great multitudes under the patronage of the king. One hundred and forty thousand of the royal troops were baptized in three days. The prosperity of the work attracted other missionaries from Cappadocia. At the end of thirty years of labour, Gregory could reckon four hundred ordained pastors. Bardaisan of Edessa is the first definitely historic missionary after the apostles. From him we learn of Christianity already in Parthia, Media and Bactria. When driven out of Edessa by the Romans, he laboured in Armenia. About the year 200 the cross supplanted heathen symbols on Armenian coins. Nouni, an Armenian captive Christian woman, is said to have introduced the faith in the royal household of Georgia. Western Persia was included in the Armenian mission, and we must recall that there were Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia among those who experienced "the wonderful works of God" on the day of Pentecost.

Arabia seems never to have been systematically or extensively occupied. Christian congregations arose informally in a number of places. A council was held at Bostra in 244, attended by Origen.

Although the claim of the Saint Thomas Christians to have originated with the apostle of that name cannot be accepted, it is altogether probable that some heralds of Christ did reach India within the first century. Farquhar came in his later years to accept the Thomas tradition as highly probable. Pantænus left the training school in Alexandria for a mission to India from 180 to 190. He was probably only one of a line of missionaries to that region, for he confessedly was following after students of his already sent to India to propagate the Gospel. How many converts were won, we cannot know. India is included under a Persian Bishopric at the end of our period, which suggests evangelization coming into India through Persia.

AFRICAN AREAS

(2) Turning to Africa, we find "dwellers in Egypt" among those who heard the Word at Pentecost, and we read also of the Treasurer of Candace, who was baptized by Philip and "went on his way rejoicing," back to his home in Ethiopia. The tradition that Mark was a worker and organizer in Egypt is to be credited. In the second century Alexandria is already an important Christian centre and will long exercise great influence in the Christian movement. There were twelve parishes with their pastors and a Christian school whose teacher, Pantænus, led to Christ his greatest pupil, Clement. When Pantænus joined the Indian mission, Clement succeeded him as head of the school, to be followed by Origen and then Athanasius. Here was a great centre of missionary enthusiasm and training from which eager men went forth westward and eastward, as well as through much of Egypt.

From Tertullian we learn that in North Africa, by 202, Christians about equalled pagans in number. They endured heavy persecutions. They also developed outstanding intellectual leadership, becoming by the fourth century the strongest factor in western Christianity on the intellectual side. They developed a vigorous literature which was used in propaganda. Here we meet such names as Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius and, to anticipate, Augustine. Here also Donatus resisted the centralizing and formalizing tendencies and moral corruptions of the Church, becoming the leader of a sect against which the central Church, with headship and direction in Rome, launched a bitter persecution. It may be noted in this connection also that within this same period Montanus, about the middle of the second century, started in Phrygia a movement of protest against laxness in discipline and looseness of living, insisting on the vital, prophetic presence and activity of the Holy Spirit continuously in the churches. His movement spread into all parts of the Roman Empire. And further, in Rome itself, in the third century, Novatian inaugurated an extensive movement for strict discipline and moral earnestness. In all these movements of protest we find the passion for morality and missions in conflict with the growing strength of organization and institutionalism.

EUROPE

(3) From the beginning, Christianity entered Europe in incidental ways. When Paul followed the vision calling him from Troas into Macedonia, the most decisive step for the direction of Christian development westward was taken. Europe was to become distinctively the "Christian continent," and the form and direction of the history of Christendom for two thousand years was determined when this little band of missionaries crossed the Ægean and preached to a few women at a "place of prayer" on the outskirts of Philippi, "which was the chief city, a Roman colony." We have noted already the extension of Christianity in Macedonia and Greece, and in the Roman peninsula, and also that it reached Spain, Rumania, and other regions. It is probable that Paul's plan to go into Spain was partly carried out. On the testimony of Clement, Irenæus and Tertullian, we know of work there within this period. The missionaries are not known. Cyprian writes a letter to Christians in Spain in 254. A council at Elvira, in 305, is said to have been attended by nineteen bishops and twenty-four other ministers. Still, at this time heathenism was rife.

In the Gallic territory Pothenus was followed by Irenæus as leading missionaries. Other distinguished names are Benignus and Denys. Christianity became sufficiently extensive to suffer much persecution at Vienne, Lyons and Autun. It is not until the next period that Christianity is to become a large factor in this section.

Roman soldiers probably first carried the Christian Gospel into the British Isles. The source of a very early Celtic Christianity is not known. The Council of Arles was attended by five British representatives in 314.

Asia Minor, Greece and Italy at the end of this period have come to be dominant centres of the Christian Church. Their leaders are constructing the great centralized machine which is to become dominant thereafter, as it develops into the Hierarchy of Rome. Rome claims supremacy and her bishop is already coming into the prominence which prepared the way for the definite establishment of the papacy later. The ministry has become definitely to be interpreted as a priesthood, of which no trace is found in the apostolic days. The simple memorial ordinances of the New Testament are already regarded as sacraments with at least symbolic saving efficacy; and will thus be a powerful instrument for the dominating policies of the hierarchy which is to grow up out of the priestly interpretation of the ministry and the domination of the Roman bishops.

Our period culminates in the recognition of Christianity by Constantine, in 313, and his efforts to control it in 314, issuing in the union of Church and State. This political recognition and federation are evidence of the great power and influence of Christianity. Political authorities find that they must definitely reckon with it. It has shown that it cannot be suppressed, that it is not dangerous to organized and orderly society. It is revolutionary in the sense of producing radical changes in the structure, standards, ideas and conduct of life. The changes which it produces and promotes are many of them seen to be desirable, and in any case inevitable. The political state now seeks to make use of this powerfully organized

religious force and to regulate the speed and extent of the changes it is effecting. By aligning organized Christianity with itself, the political state can regulate its activities, use its energies and restrain its too rapid changes. The state remains the unifying, co-ordinating and directing factor in the social organism, and religious motives of conviction are made to support the aims of the secular institution. Such is the political view-point.

This political combination with the religious forces also marks the corrupting of the ideals and the weakening of the power of the Church and the lessening of its proper influence. Christianity loses, in most of its organized life, the fundamental concept of Christ's Kingdom as "not of this world." It enters upon a course the hope of which is to use the power of the world for the spiritual ends of religion. It is the temptation of "the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them," which Jesus emphatically resisted, to which His Church now yields.

VI

SECOND PERIOD: ECCLESIASTICAL EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

A. D. 313-1000

WITH the union of Church and State under Constantine the missionary movement definitely passed into a new stage. The principle of expansion was radically changed from that which had guided the movement thus far. Christianity comes largely to be identified with the organized Church; and the concept of the spiritual reign of Christ on earth recedes by being incorporated and submerged in the idea that the reign of Christ is only through the Church and is to be identified with the Church. The method of approach to the unevangelized becomes corporate and official rather than spontaneous and individual. The controlling idea in expansion proceeds along the line of making Christianity the official religion of the various political states, with the patronage, support and authority of the political rulers to bring about the adherence of the masses of the people. It is a period in which the objective is the establishing of a state church in each political unit and the organic incorporation of that church in the comprehensive universal Church with its central seat in Rome—or in Constantinople for the East, after the separation of the eastern church from the western. While we find notable exceptions to this method, it is the general rule. The emphasis is placed on the Church rather than upon Christ. Salvation is within the gift of the Church, and all who are incorporated in it are supposed to be secure in the expectation of reaching the heavenly glory. From this time on, Christianity becomes a state religion intimately related to political life. This introduces complications and conflicts. The exact relation that should obtain between Church and State in the union has never to this day been determined. The vicious principle has been operative in most of the forms of Christianity to the present day and has all along been a great hindrance to the spiritual nature and task of the Church.

The chief field of expansion in this period is in Europe. But for some most interesting and significant efforts in central Asia and China, it would be proper to characterize this as the period of "The Conversion of Europe," keeping always in mind that by "conversion" is meant incorporation in the Church. All the then more important political divisions of Europe had been thus "converted" by about the year 1000. There still remained some smaller states in north and northeast Europe, but by this time other regions were enlisting the interest of missionary spirits and producing new activities elsewhere. Hence it is well to make the year 1000 a turning-point. No one event marks this transition into a new period, but at about

that time a new emphasis comes to characterize the work of missions, and their chief fields are found in Asia.

UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

The marvellous expansion of Christianity in the first period raised numerous problems which were not yet solved. It was only natural that problems of organization, creed, social adjustment and worship should occupy the time of the majority of the thinking leaders of Christianity. The centralizing tendency and the developing hierarchy, together with the increasingly secular concept of the Church's function, made it inevitable that the greatest ability of the Church would be devoted to its internal problems rather than its external expansion. Professor Moore, in his monumental study, *West and East*, has clearly stated an important fact in the growth of human movements, with special application to the Church and its missions. A period of rapid expansion is repeatedly followed by an arrest of outgoing energy, while the chief resources are applied to the task of consolidating the gains already made and unifying the life and thought which have been added to the Christian following. Then a new period of expansion will ensue, to be followed by another period of arrest and co-ordination. This process, of course, works in varying degrees. It is not necessary that it should always be operative. Now, in our own time, when Christianity has become a world-wide force and a universal factor in the life of humanity, its varying stages and forms ought to leave freedom for at least unbroken expansive movements. Yet we do witness at this time a concentration on the problems of the unity of the various divisions of Christianity and the problems of the organization of the thought, worship and activities of Christianity. Conferences on faith and order attract more attention and bring together many more of the recognized leaders than do conferences for the consideration of the missionary task.

MOVEMENTS AFFECTING MISSIONS

The capacity for seeing and accepting the duty of evangelizing the world, as well as the resources and opportunities for undertaking this work, must be largely affected by all other conditions and movements within the life of the people. From Constantine for hundreds of years was a period of great and complicated changes in the conditions throughout Europe, and especially within the territory of the Roman Empire. Revolutionary changes were going on, reaching to the depths and affecting the whole social structure, and reaching in their influence every part of the European continent and beyond.

There was, first of all, the decay and downfall of the Roman Empire itself. Its definite division into Eastern and Western Empires left both sections in a state of weakness, and subjected them to powerful forces from without. This breaking of the political power of the empire probably saved the now largely secularized Church from completely submerging its spiritual mission in the effort to establish a world-wide civil rule. It made evident, to those who had eyes to see, the weakness of depending

upon human rule and authority for the propagation of a spiritual cause. It uncovered the incompleteness and failure of the work of Christianizing the territory that was already claimed by the Church; for in the chaotic conditions, when coercive restraints were less possible, the depravities of human nature manifested themselves in immoralities and corruptions which indicated how very far from the standards of Christ was the life in the Christendom of the day. The inability of the political authorities to enforce the wishes of the ecclesiastical authorities prevented the Church from becoming absolute in its control over all Christians. Opportunity was left for free operation by the Nestorians and other missionary sects in Asia, while also there was thus left some opportunity for independent operation in Europe.

The invasion of Southern Europe and Northern Africa by the migrating Vandals, Goths and Mongol-Huns brought into the very heart of the Christian territory a new missionary responsibility. These heathen hordes brought their own corruptions and superstitions which had to be counteracted by Christian effort. The invaders must be evangelized as a means of self-preservation. As these heathen hordes were progressively incorporated in the Church, it was not without modification of ideas and forms. The newcomers added vigour and purpose to the life of the Church and largely stimulated the Christianizing of Central and Northern Europe.

The division of the empire into Western and Eastern promoted both directly and indirectly a separate doctrinal and organic development of Christianity in the two sections. In any case the difference between the Latin mind and the Greek mind would have caused marked differences. Under the political conditions the divergences were increased and accelerated. Definite rivalries grew up between the two divisions. The Patriarch of Constantinople became increasingly independent of the Pope in Rome, and the followers of the two grew further and further apart, while consolidation went on within both camps. Before the end of this period, the Pope is excommunicating the Patriarch, yet final separation is postponed until the eleventh century. This major division enters quite definitely into the missionary activities of the period, as we shall see.

With the breakdown of the old empire, and the migrations of the peoples in Eastern and into Southern Europe, and across the Mediterranean into Northern Africa, and the intellectual and social awakening of Central and Northern Europe operated to introduce a period of readjustment of political barriers, rearrangement of tribes and the integration of European states. While the older tribal names and territories continued in considerable measure to influence the new movements, we have in this period extensive rearrangements moving quite definitely on toward the divisions which mark the modern European states. Since the missionary work now proceeded by way of establishing a church which was expected to be co-extensive with each political state, and then incorporating the state church in the Catholic Church, the integrations referred to largely determined the times, methods and territorial limits of the various missionary undertakings. The political turmoil and the wars, so numerous as to be practically continuous, greatly affected the form and growth of

the Church. By the seventh century it was often felt that the blessing and support of the Pope was necessary to the right of kings to their authority and pledged divine power to their rule. In Italy, the Lombards especially, with their heathen independence still working strongly, antagonized the claims of the Pope. When Pippin, the Frankish ruler, gave asylum to the refugeeing Pope, he was in turn crowned and anointed by him, making him a spiritual son of the Church, and a civil agent of the Pope. He invaded the Lombard territory, destroyed their power and established the Pope as direct ruler in Central Italy. From this time, 755, the Church through its head became a definite political power and claimed the right of supremacy over all the political states throughout the world, a claim which continues to affect the entire policy of the Roman Church. This idea enters largely into the missionary history from this time. When the great Frankish king, Charlemagne, set about constructing his empire and identified himself with the Christian movement, he supported the claims of the Pope in Italy. In turn, he accepted his crown at the hands of the Pope on Christmas Day, 800, having previously accepted baptism with great pomp and had his armies baptized *en masse*. Now the idea of the Holy Roman Empire was born and entered upon its career which was to affect the political and religious history of Europe for hundreds of years.

In another part of the world a new movement arose in the seventh century which was to be a major factor in world history. In 622 Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina. In 632 he returned to make Mecca the capital of a religious church and a political empire, the two more intimately identified than has ever been true within Christendom. This new power entered at once upon a most vigorous and successful campaign of expansion. Within a single century the Mohammedan armies had swept with irresistible power and had established their rule throughout Arabia, northward to the Caspian and Black Seas, swept irresistibly through Egypt, and across all North Africa. Thence going into Spain they incorporated that peninsula in the Mohammedan Church and their armies were pouring through the Pyrennees to invade Gaul and France when they were stopped by Charles Martel in the battle of Tours, in 732, exactly one hundred years after the establishment in Mecca. This phenomenal rise of a new religion and a new empire had given them possession of all the original territory of Christianity. While Mohammedan authority tolerated Christian churches, it was only upon the basis of their definite acceptance of the political rule of the Mohammedan masters, of paying heavy ransom and continuous oppressive taxes, and with the prohibition of all efforts to win converts beyond their own following on penalty of death. This movement either wholly suppressed or seriously checked all Christian propaganda within the territory controlled by the Arab rulers. The spirit of expansion could not be wholly suppressed, but found its outlet mainly in regions which were new territory for the Christian Gospel.

Furthermore, the rise of a new and aggressive empire, pushing its limits ever into new territory, and impinging upon Europe at a time of disintegration and confusion, could not but arouse a violent antagonism and great

bitterness. The identity of Church and Empire under Mohammedanism, and the growing identification of the two within Christendom, served further to put the new movement into an attitude of hatred and conflict with Christendom, which have continued to affect the spirit on both sides unto the present day. Operating in this antagonism was also basal race distinction. Christianity more and more came to be the religion of the European branches of the Aryan race, while Mohammedanism was at first Semitic and then Mongolian also. In this way Mohammedanism has affected the missionary spirit and task of Christianity for thirteen centuries.

In considering all these secular and more general religious movements one cannot but raise the question of what effect the continued faithfulness and energetic activity of Christianity which we meet in the first century might have had on these movements and on the history of humanity, if only they could have proceeded and multiplied in all directions. Such a reflection is futile and quite useless, except in so far as it may stimulate the Christian churches of the present era to purification of spirit and method, and to faithful devotion to their task of making the world genuinely Christian; and of rightly understanding and responding to all the various secular movements of our own time.

CHANGED OBJECTIVE AND METHOD

Under the welter of all these conflicting currents within and upon the Europe of that period, while vaguely the aim of establishing the reign of Christ among men remained, the Kingdom ideas were increasingly obscured by the glorification of the Church. The immediate aim and direct effort was to make Christianity the state religion wherever this was possible. Heathen religions were treated with varying degrees of toleration or of intolerance. In the main the religious rights of individuals were ignored and the truth that a man is Christian only so far as he is voluntarily and intelligently so came rarely into clear recognition or into practical operation. There were those, many of them, devoted to the impartation of personal salvation and the cultivation of spiritual life and values; but these acted individually or in small sects, under the disfavour and ban of the Church. The Church is no longer an organization serving as an instrument for the growth of the Kingdom of God, but identifies itself with the Kingdom. As a function of the Church, missions became only one task of its work, and instead of being the main business, constitutes a progressively inferior part of that work. Theology becomes more important than spiritual life; dogma, organization, liturgy, ceremonial acts are regarded as the essential matters without which Christian life is regarded as ineffective if at all possible. This is the period of doctrinal controversies, of the great Church Councils in which under strenuous and bitter debate it was determined what men must believe and practice. With the growth of the priestly interpretation of the ministry the missionaries take their place in the highly hierarchical orders; and, unless forceful and capable men press for appointment to this work, missionaries are apt to be men of second or third rate ability. Missions share in the dominant

professionalism of the ministry. From 398 laymen were formally prohibited from preaching. Where salvation was believed to be effected only through the application of sacraments, which must be officially authorized in order to be valid, there was little inspiration for a layman to concern himself with the lost.

Mass conversions are necessary for the rapid inclusion of political units. Missions therefore become nationalistic rather than individualistic, both in their effort and in their additions. The Scotch missions continue to be largely individualistic in both their initiation and their operation; the Roman missions are predominantly—of course not exclusively—nationalistic; the Nestorians pursue a method somewhat between these two.

Agents for the missionary work include, (1), voluntary individual workers. These are discouraged by the official Church and grow fewer in number. Naturally, there is more freedom the further one is separated, geographically or spiritually, from the control of Rome. There are sections, particularly in the British Isles, which retain through most of this period a large measure of political and religious independence. (2) There are those definitely appointed by the Church for this service. These are largely within the Monastic orders which arise in this period. The oldest of these are the Benedictines, from 529. These orders increasingly become the great agency for the extension and unification of the Catholic Church. Their monasteries, located in the midst of heathen territory and primitive conditions, become the nucleating and constructive centres for creating and nurturing a growing civilization and culture. With the convents associated with them, they taught the rude tribes of Central and Northern Europe, and the invading Goths and Huns, the arts and methods of civilized and ordered life. They established schools, especially for training religious workers, produced the beginnings of literature, taught farming and better living accommodations. They were really planting such Christianity as they themselves had and believed in, and were making it a central and unifying factor in the new life which was growing up in Europe. The monastery at Iona, under Columba, which did so much for Scotland, was not until the end of this period connected with the Roman Church. (3) Civil rulers and military powers were very extensively employed for this work of converting Europe. Clovis, Charles Martel, Vladimir, and Charlemagne are only the outstanding examples of a large number of kings who brought their influence and power to bear upon their peoples to sweep them into the Church.

The means employed are suggested by the agents who accomplished the work. There was still much preaching, but for the most part it was less spiritual, vital and ethical than formerly. There was diligent promulgation and application of the ceremonial ideas and sacraments, catechetical instruction in the more characteristic doctrines and claims of the faith. It was necessary to rely chiefly on these peaceful methods in territory as yet beyond the reach of the more massive influence of the great organization and the use of compulsion. Such methods were employed also to follow up and incorporate the results gained by the civil and military powers. It came to be the rule for newly acquired subjects and territory of a Chris-

tian ruler to be incorporated into the Church. These must then receive at least a measure of instruction, orderly adjustment and provision for their religious needs in their new relationship. Literature found its place, but was relied upon far less than in the earlier and in later periods. There was still the use of Scripture translation, but Latin became the sacred language for all the territory of the Roman Church, and by the end of this period it is no longer officially desired that the people shall have the Scriptures in their own tongues. There is some apologetic literature, but it is nothing like as elaborate and thorough as in the second and third centuries. For the most part it takes the form of fragmentary ecclesiastical history. Wonders and signs were tremendously impressive upon the untutored minds of peoples still retaining many primitive superstitions. That there was much more or less innocent use of such signs to win the credulous and to induce their acceptance of the rule of the Church is only what would be expected, however we may now deplore it. The structure of society made it natural that when the heads of families or clan groups accepted the faith, the entire group would become Christian as a matter of course.

In all this there was much of accommodation to the traditions and customs of the peoples who were being evangelized. This involved no little of compromise with heathen cults and worship. The annual religious festivals, many of the religious practices, and in some cases even the heathen idols, were reinterpreted in terms of the Christian ideas and continued within the churches.

SURVEY OF PROGRESS

While we have been considering mainly the methods and activities within Europe, it has been indicated that there was also work in other continents. The main features of the achievements will be best seen by looking at each continent in turn.

1. Asia. Recall the situation at the close of the first period, especially the union of Church and State in Armenia in 302. This secularizing of Christianity as a state function continues, but never developed to the same extent as in the west. The ecclesiastical system is less elaborately developed and also fails to become so dominant as in the west, and there is more freedom for personal initiative. Far the most important factor in missionary work is the Nestorian Church. While their ideas of the person of Christ were defective and they were hampered by the political entanglements of the Church, their missionary zeal remained through this period more vital and unselfish and their methods rather more in harmony with the New Testament.

(1) The work of the first period had been conducted in the Greek language. In 387 Armenia fell a victim to the Persian ambition and was divided between Syria and Persia. For the most part the Christians were in the Syrian sector. They were now prohibited from using their Greek Scriptures and were not familiar with the Syriac. They needed an Armenian Bible and literature. This was provided by Mesrop, 440, who invented an alphabet for the purpose and, with the help of Isaac the Great, trans-

lated the Bible and began a somewhat extensive literature. In 451, when the Persian power came to include most of Armenia, Zoroastrianism became the official religion and Christians were persecuted. From Armenia, Christianity was carried into Georgia, Grusia, and thence into Colchia and other regions about the Caspian Sea. In 651 all this territory passed under Mohammedan power and missionary activities ceased, except as missionaries went beyond the range of that power.

(2) Christians were fairly numerous in Western Persia in our first period, but it was not until the fifth century that we have much definite information concerning them. They suffered terrible persecutions from 343 to 378, and again from 418 to 448. Nestorian refugees came there from farther west in 435, and the Persian Christians identified themselves with that church. Nisibis became the centre of church life and missionary activity, with a training school for missionaries, succeeding Edessa. With missionaries drawn from this and the older schools in Seleucia, Bagdad and Edessa, missionary operations were extended as far as India, Mongolia, and China. For approximately three centuries the Nestorians furnished an inspiring example of missionary zeal and effort. The Mohammedan rulers mastered Persia in 651 and stopped all evangelization within that country; but the missions continued beyond the borders of Persia till near the end of this period, and were resumed in the next period.

(3) Arabia, of course, remains largely unevangelized. Its neglect and the fact that such Christianity as was there remained unaggressive, left the field free for the rise of Mohammed and Islam, after which Christianity was barely allowed to exist. We read of a request already in the third century from one of the emirs that Origen would come and teach Christianity to his tribe. In 244 Origen attended a theological council at Bostra. In the first century of this period the Emperor Constantine sent Theophilus on a political mission into Arabia, and he succeeded in having Christian churches built at Aden, Dafur, a tribal capital, and on the Persian Gulf. This promising beginning was not followed up.

(4) The earliest missions to India were from Syria, Alexandria, and then from Persia. There is no history of the earlier efforts and successes. Cosmas Indicopleustes, as his name suggests, was an adventurous traveller who was greatly interested in Christianity. He published a *Topographia Christianica* in which he told of the Christian work along the Malabar Coast, east coast and Ceylon, and other islands. A merchant of Jerusalem, Thomas, visited India and led a considerable number of missionaries there as early as the first half of the fourth century. There are indications of a considerable number of Christians in India, and from the higher classes. The St. Thomas Christians in east India profess to trace their history to the Apostle Thomas, but may take their name from this merchant. Modern efforts to incorporate them in the Catholic and Episcopal communions, and the impacts of modern religious ideas, have divided them into four separate units.

(5) The greatest achievement of the Nestorians in all their missionary history was in China. There were Christian bishops of Maru and Tus as

early as 334, and of Samarkand in 503. Persian monks had brought from China the secrets of silk culture by 500. The famous Nestorian tablet unearthed at Si-gnan-fu in 1625, at first discredited as an invention, is now recognized as an authoritative account of Nestorian missions conducted in China from 635 to 781. Their most noted missionary, Olopun, was only one of the large number who devoted themselves to this enterprise. The monument states briefly the doctrine of God, sin, the coming of Christ and some of His teaching, and praises the missionaries. It then sketches the progress of the Nestorians in China to its date (781). The Emperor (Tai Tsung) had highly favoured Olopun; praised his teachings and had his Scriptures translated for the imperial library; and desired for the religion "free course throughout the empire." This favour was continued by Kao Tsung, one of the most notable of the Tang dynasty, who made Olopun "Lord of the Great Law for preservation of the state." "The religion spread through the ten circuits." "Monasteries filled a hundred cities." For a few years there was loss of favour. Buddhists instigated persecution. Monasteries and churches were injured and some destroyed. "But there were . . . noble men from the golden regions, all eminent priests, keeping themselves aloof from worldly influences, who joined together in restoring the mysterious net, and in rebinding its meshes which had been broken." Imperial favour was restored and continued. The inscription praises each ruler in succession from 713, and almost makes a Christian of "Chien-Chung (780-783), our present Emperor, sage and Spirit-like" whose beneficent influence, enlisting the favour of providence in nature and producing peace and prosperity, is attributed to the "Illustrious Religion's" "power and operation."

Then came a change in dynasties, naturally attended by a spirit of nationalism. The Nestorians had remained a foreign religion. The Patriarch of Babylon was their earthly head. The monument has the names of sixty Chinese priests, written in Chinese, but the names of Adam, the vicar-general and head of all the Christians in China, who erected the monument, John Joshua, the Nestorian patriarch in Babylon, and other foreign priests all appear in Syriac, which was in China, as everywhere, the "sacred language" of Nestorianism, and a "sacred language" is a fatal hindrance to the full success of any mission.

When the Emperor of a new dynasty, Wu Tsung, led a patriotic restoration of Confucianism as the state religion, he ordered the destruction of Buddhist and Christian monasteries, required all their monks to return to the ways and duties of civil life, and commanded all foreigners to leave off religious efforts. The statement of a Mohammedan author that Christianity was extinct in China in 987 is prejudiced testimony. It professes to depend upon the story of a dejected monk who said he was the only one to escape slaughter out of a group of six sent from Persia, to "bring the affairs of Christianity in that country into order." While the Christian following was thus disorganized and repressed, it was not wholly destroyed as a distinct group for probably two centuries longer. From this Nestorian mission certain religious ideas entered as a permanent influence in the life of parts of China.

There is no evidence of efforts in this period to evangelize Mohammedans. There doubtless were such individual efforts, but giving the Christian message and life to them did not come to be a recognized opportunity. On the other hand, the Mohammedans won multitudes of Christians, chiefly by compulsion. They suppressed heathen worship wherever they went. They became masters of a great territory, as we have seen above. They twice besieged Constantinople, which was later to fall into their hands and become the capital of empire and religion.

2. Africa. Christianity continued to flourish in Egypt and North Africa in this period until the Mohammedan invasion and subjugation.

(1) In Egypt aggressiveness was stopped as a matter of course when the Arabs came into power. Christianity was not wholly stamped out, but the Coptic Church offered poor resistance and, although it continues to the present day, it is not an inspiring example of the Christian faith. The work in Alexandria, distinguished by Pantenus, Clement and Origen in the first period, was made even more famous by Athanasius in this period. Its chief significance, however, is no longer for expansion, but for orthodoxy. That the Christians here yielded in some measure to the tendency of the time to propagate the faith by secularistic means is evidenced by their accepting from the Emperor, Arcadius, a heathen temple to be converted into a Christian church in Alexandria. The unchristian spirit of this method is seen in the fact that they desecrated its sanctuary and made a public display of the sacred objects, for the purpose of arousing contempt for the nature of the things which the pagans had used in their worship. This was poor psychology and bad religion. The heathen retaliated in force, torturing and cruelly slaying many Christians in the Serapeum, their most splendid temple. The Emperor then retaliated by converting the Serapeum also into a church.

(2) Abyssinia, which is usually identified with Ethiopia, had some knowledge of the Gospel from the beginning. No definite efforts were made for its evangelization until the beginning of the fourth century. Two brothers, Frumentius and Edessius, whose home was in Tyre, on a voyage through the Red Sea were captured by the Ethiopians when they put in for water. They alone of the company of the ship were spared, being very young and attractive. They were taken into the service of the court. When the king was dying, soon afterward, he provided for their liberation, but they were persuaded to remain to instruct the prince. Frumentius took the lead and began the propagation of Christianity, with support from Rome. Upon the majority of the prince, the Christian brothers left. Frumentius informed Athanasius at Alexandria of the opportunity in Abyssinia. Athanasius took in the situation with imagination and zeal, assumed the responsibility for ordaining Frumentius as bishop, procured helpers and sent him back to become the missionary founder. In the fifth century, numbers of monks from Egypt came in, introduced an alphabet and writing in Ethiopic, and translated the Scriptures into it. "Christianity was firmly established," and "has stood for more than a millennium and a half, a veritable Gibraltar in the midst of great seas of pagan Mohammedanism." The Church in Abyssinia has latterly had the patronage

of the Roman Catholic Church in an effort to affiliate and incorporate it with that church. This effort is encouraged by the present Italian overlordship of the country. Christianity was also planted in some way in Nubia in the early part of this period, and continued in strength for almost a thousand years. In the fourteenth century the king accepted and enforced the Moslem faith.

(3) In this period until the devastation by the Moslem armies and the domination of the Arabic rule, Christianity continued to flourish in North Africa. It was, however, seriously divided by the strife between the Donatists and the adherents of the Roman Church. The former were an aggressive missionary force working vigorously for the conversion of the barbarians, and with distinct success. The element affiliated with Rome attained great intellectual vigour, produced extensive literature, and wielded almost determinative influence in the doctrinal and ecclesiastical development of the Roman Church. This element was far less interested in missions to the heathen, and consumed the energy which should have gone in that direction in efforts to compel the Donatists to accept Roman rule and conform to its ritual. The great Augustine used the words of Jesus in the parable, "Go out and compel them to come in," to urge that civil and religious authorities should force all Christians into the fold of the Roman Church. In spite of this division and of the severe repression by the Mohammedan power, "it took Islam nearly eight hundred years to completely displace Christianity in North Africa."

3. Europe. The general conditions under which Christianity took possession of this continent have been outlined before. Not only was practically all Europe brought into the Church by 1000; forms and conceptions of doctrine, worship and work were developed that continue to influence Christianity powerfully unto the present day. There are three sources of missionary agency and activity from which Christianity attacked the large areas that were awaiting it with the opening of this period. These overlapped in the territory undertaken, in the time of their occupancy of different sections, and in their ecclesiastical relations. The forces from the different directions were sometimes in open antagonism, sometimes independent but not in opposition, and sometimes co-operating. The general movement was toward unifying all the separate sections into the one Roman Church, except in Southeastern Europe, where the Eastern Church gained the ascendancy.

(1) From the eastern territory of the Church several successive waves of missionary endeavour swept into Eastern Europe. Constantinople was the great centre.

In the third and fourth centuries the Goths captured Christians in Asia Minor who became missionaries to their captors; and this led to direct, organized efforts for their evangelization. Theophilus was a Gothic bishop in the Nicean Council. He trained Ulfilas, who became the great "Apostle of the Goths," and laboured among them for almost half a century, till 388. He gave them a written language in order that he might translate the Bible into their tongue. It is a remarkable and significant fact that the vast majority of the written languages of the world were first reduced to

writing by missionaries in order that the people might have the Word of God. Christianity, through its missions, has been far and away the greatest agency of culture and civilization in human history. Ulfilas omitted from his Bible the accounts of the Jewish wars in Kings and Chronicles, convinced that these people needed no divine sanction for their already too warlike tendencies. The greatest preacher of that age, John Chrysostom ("golden-mouthed"), gave to this Gothic mission his most enthusiastic support. The Gothic Christians became Arian in theology, and with their invasion swept a tide of Arianism with heathen corruptions across Europe to Spain and delayed the going of missionaries from Italy to the British Isles and North Europe.

Another great missionary in the Danube regions was Severinus. His origin is unknown. Pressed with inquiries about it once, he replied: "If you take me to be a runaway slave, get ready money to redeem me when my master comes to ask me back." There was a tradition that he was of royal blood and had fled from some court on account of crime. He had a hermitage in the neighbourhood of Vienna where the barbarian invasion devastated the Christianity already developed there from Rome. With great ability, self-denial, and courage Severinus met the barbarians, counselled the older natives, mediated between the two groups, vigorously antagonized the Arian type of Christianity, stimulated the towns in their defense against the invaders when there was hope of success, always, in all ways, with his masterful personality sought to inculcate the spirit of Christ and to extend Christianity. He came to be revered as a saint and was reputed to work miracles. Few men have exercised greater influence than this noble missionary, who died in 482. In him in this region we have an example of the overlapping of operations from Constantinople and Rome.

Cyril and Methodius, brothers from Thessalonica, educated in Constantinople, are the great missionary pioneers to the Slavic peoples of Central Europe. They began in the Crimea with the Chazars and extended their labours to the Bulgars (both of these Turanian tribes). They extended their work also to the Moravians and Bohemians. They gave to these Slavs their first written language and began for them a literature with the Bible as their first book. Methodius was a painter and used his art to aid in the evangelization. Cyril was the preacher and the statesman. Christianity was introduced into Bulgaria by the sister of the King Bogoris, who had come to the knowledge of it while a captive in Constantinople. He compelled his subjects to accept baptism or death. Cyril and Methodius felt the appeal to give the knowledge of Christ to this barbarous people. Bogoris had Methodius paint the walls of his great palace. When the work was completed and the hall filled with the company of the king's retainers the painting was uncovered. It portrayed a rather lurid scene of the last judgment, with realistic representation of the rewards of believers in heaven and the torments of the unbelievers in hell. The king and some of his courtiers, who had resisted personal adherence to the Gospel up to this time, accepted baptism, 861. A pagan revolt was suppressed and Christianity definitely established as the religion of the state.

The missionaries found readier response from the Moravian king, who encouraged them in the propagation of Christianity in his state. About 870 the Bohemian Duke, Borziwoi, fell under the influence of Methodius at the Moravian court. With thirty of his attendants he accepted baptism and opened the way for the Christianizing of the Bohemians. Objection was made in Rome to the spreading of Christianity among the Slavs in the Greek language and forms. Cyril and Methodius were called to account in Rome, where Cyril died. Methodius succeeded in gaining the approval of the Pope upon his work in general, although not upon his giving the Bible in the vernacular. He was made archbishop of Moravia and permitted to return to his work. This was, however, only the beginning of a bitter conflict over the use of the barbarian tongues instead of the Latin for the propagation of the faith. Methodius was again in Rome to contend for his right before Pope John VIII., and again won permission to continue his work, but did not escape opposition from Roman representatives.

These two remarkable brothers must be credited with giving type and direction to Christianity for all the Slavic peoples, including the Russians, to whom Christianity went as an indirect result of the work which these had done. Moravia and Pannonia were subsequently overrun by heathen Bohemians and were reckoned heathen territory in the tenth century, when they became a mission field of the Roman Church.

Russia is much the most extensive branch of the Greek type of Christianity. It was not evangelized at all until after 860, while most of the work falls in the tenth century. The Princess Olga had been attracted to Christianity and went to Constantinople to learn more of it. She accepted the faith in 955 and returned for a vain effort to win her son, Swiatoslav. She was more successful with her grandson, Vladimir. His adherence was sought by missionaries of Mohammedanism, Judaism, and both the Greek and Roman types of Christianity. After hearing representatives of all four, he said that they all made out a good case, that he would send messengers to investigate the working of religion in the lands dominated by each. His approval finally fell to the Greeks. He deferred his baptism till the Emperor Basil gave him his sister Anne to add to the several hundred wives whom he already boasted. She was only one of a number of noble women who became the instruments through which royal husbands were led to acceptance of the Christian faith and became its patrons and promoters. Even yet the Emperor felt that it was unbecoming in him mildly to accept a new religion. He first besieged the Crimean city Kherson and captured it, it is said by means of information concerning its water supplies conveyed to him by an arrow bearing a message, from within the city, at the instigation of a bishop. Returning to his capital, Kieff, (988) he proclaimed Christianity as the religion of his country, destroyed the national idol, had his army baptized wholesale and proceeded vigorously and rapidly to carry into effect his proclamation. Missionaries followed for the instruction and organization of the people within the Church. They had the Bible, liturgies and other literature of Cyril and Methodius ready for their work.

Poland became superficially Christian through the influence of another

princess, the Bohemian wife of the Duke Mieczylas. Ten years later she died and the duke now married the German princess Oda, who was a Roman Christian, and at her instance he identified his church with Rome. Efforts were made by Pilgrim to win Hungary, but the success was small. It remained for Prince Stephen, 997 to 1038, to encourage Roman missionaries who succeeded in identifying it with that church.

(2) Early Christianity in Ireland and Scotland was largely independent, at most only loosely connected with any general church organization. We have already seen that the method by which Christianity first came into the British Isles is not known. That there were churches here and there is certain. The Christianity which we know but vaguely in origin or order in the British Isles in the earlier days was left unprotected when the Roman armies withdrew and the heathen Angles came in. The Christians were scattered, and left but traces or remnants here and there. Some crossed into Ireland and founded Christian centres at Wicklow and Wexford, whence they made some showing along all the east of Ireland. It was when Martin of Tours had taught the monks the holy way of missions that a new Christian influence entered the Islands, by way of Cornwall, south Wales and Ireland. A Briton trained in Rome and adopting Martin as hero and model, about 400, built a church and monastery near Whithern and made it a base of missions reaching all the way to the Scotch Highlands, where the wild Picts beat back their efforts. But Ninian had replanted Christianity, had won King Ceretic, of Strathclyde, to patronize the faith, had established friendship with Irish Christianity and left his name to posterity to conjure with in legend and story. In common with the Irish preachers, he had compromised with customs of Druids and other pagan cults. One writer puts it that "they conciliated the Druids . . . and so strove not to beat down the ancient civilization, but to win it for Christ." "The Bards were won, and induced to attach their schools to the monasteries, to tune their harps to Irish Christian hymns. In return, their custom of shaving the front half of the head . . . became the distinguishing mark of the Irish missionary. The kings were won and a relative of each installed as head of the monastery of the clan, and consecrated as bishop. The old holy wells were not filled up, but . . . the people . . . were led to the old familiar scene of worship, there to be baptized." Kentigern is the apostle of West Britain. Son of a Welsh nun by an English king who had captured her, he was trained in the faith and took up the work of Ninian. Opposed by the heathen Welsh king at Carlisle, he founded a monastery near the Dee which soon had a thousand monks, with the approval of David, Welsh Archbishop. This he turned over to Asaph, a convert of his, while he returned at the call of a new king whose capital he named Glasgow. He laboured widely all his life and wells named for him were found in Northumbria. Once in his tours he met Columba, with whom he exchanged staffs.

IRELAND

We go back here a bit to connect this West British Christianity more definitely with that of Ireland. We must keep in mind that legend gilds

much of these fascinating stories. Early in the fifth century a youth still in his teens was captured from a region on the border of England and Scotland and carried to Ireland. Escaping, he returned to his home, which seems to have been a Christian home, with his father holding a position of leadership in the local church. Patrick now became an earnest Christian on his own account, and there was born in his heart a yearning to evangelize his Irish masters. He boldly undertook the task and achieved remarkable success. He adopted somewhat dramatic methods, made extensive use of music, held meetings in the open air and in such large places of assembly as were available. He and his helpers travelled on foot and evangelized the entire island. He thus inaugurated a movement that continued with vigour and became a source for missionary evangelism to regions in Gaul, Friesland and the Germanic regions. He established a monastic order, had an organized group of twelve assistants, and enlisted many workers and gave the rudiments of Christian training and culture. He spent several years himself in Gaul, and it is claimed by the authorities of the Roman Church that he definitely identified himself with it and received its ordination, to become an archbishop. This claim is controverted by important authorities. In any case, it seems fairly clear that the Irish Christianity retained its independence and evangelical character for some three hundred years before it was definitely brought into complete loyalty to the Roman Church, of which for more than a thousand years it has now been one of the most enthusiastic children.

SCOTLAND AND THE MONASTERY ON IONA

One of the greatest Irish monks was Columba, who was inspired with a desire to evangelize Scotland. He founded a monastery on the island of Iona, in 563, and for thirty-four years led a masterful work of evangelization, and Christian development. His followers continued his work until it was brought into harmony with the Roman Church early in the eighth century. Even after that, for a century longer, the churches in Scotland and North England continued to function with a great measure of independence. Their missionaries as far as possible preached in the common tongue, founded monasteries and schools, taught farming and the arts of civilization so far as they had themselves learned them, and were thus the promoters of settled and progressive Christian civilization. They emphasized genuine faith, pure living and personal religion. Their workers were of good birth and noble spirit. Besides the very extensive evangelization of Scotland, they laboured successfully in northeast England, where they came into a long conflict with the Christianity which was arising from Roman sources in the same region. On the continent, their labours were a strong factor in South Germany, the strongest influence in northern France, and extensive in Helvetia (Switzerland and Tyrol). Two of their most distinguished and successful continental missionaries were Columbanus and Gallus, the latter drowned in the lake whose name perpetuates his martyrdom. Columbanus was a great scholar and writer of the monastic school at Bangor. When already forty years old he led a band of twelve missionaries into Burgundy, where he founded a mon-

astery and laboured twelve years. He inculcated moral standards that so rebuked court and clergy as to result in his banishment. He went on to Lake Constance and founded another monastery at Bregenz. With Irish impetuosity he attacked the heathen morals and religious practices, burning temples of the gods, breaking up the cauldrons which had been sacred to Woden and throwing their idols into the lake. Three years of this was all the people would stand, and he is next working and dying in a monastery he founded in the Alps on the borders of Lombardy. We shall shortly come upon yet another missionary approach to the British Isles.

(3) The missions of the Roman Church have two distinct sources, but since the work overlapped and the workers usually co-operated and their results were all finally merged under the supremacy of the Roman authority, it is hardly possible to keep distinct the operations from the two sources. The larger number of workers and the general direction came from Rome and from the Frankish territory under the direct influence of Rome. Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, with the characteristic independence and individualism of these tribes, had considerable originality and initiated extensive work on the continent, in which were engaged a large number of missionaries, many of them quite notable. In sections of Gaul, Friesland and Germany their work was the decisive factor in the acceptance of Christianity, and formed bases and impulse for the Christianizing of Northern Europe. As indicated above, it is useless to try to distinguish the work from these two sources. The Patron Saint of Gaul is Martin of Tours, whose life runs through most of the fourth century. He was an untiring missionary, organized itinerating ascetic bands of workers, and planted Christianity widely in western Gaul. Among many other workers in this region were Honoratus of Lerins, and Victricus of Rouen. By 400, Celtic Gaul, which was under political control of Rome, was "extensively evangelized."

FRANCE AND SPAIN

The Burgundians, tiring of their pagan superstitions, sent a commission into Christian Gaul to ascertain whether Christianity offered a worthy God. This was the beginning of their evangelization. The Frankish tribe which gave its name to the modern country and nation owes its Christianity to the Burgundian wife, Clotilde, of the gruff and vigorous chieftain Clovis. She was a devoted and aggressive Christian. She was not able to win her husband, but greatly influenced his mind. Then when in desperate straits in a battle with the Germans he appealed to Clotilde's God, vowing that if he were delivered he would become a Christian. Accordingly, on Christmas Day, in 496, he was baptized in Rheims by the missionary bishop Remigius, with great pomp and ceremony. He was greatly moved by the preacher's account of the crucifixion of Jesus, and with clinched fists declared: "If I had been there with my noble Franks, they wouldn't have done it." He evidently had no very profound insight into the principle of spiritual atonement. Nevertheless, his rugged and determined character took Christianity in as a definite part of his programme.

Three thousand of his soldiers were at once baptized and his armies were thereafter militant promoters of Christianity. To come under his authority was to accept his church. By 536, with the generous aid of a body of churchmen, and by means of political influence and military force, all his growing territory was identified with the Church. By his conquest and by his patronage of the Roman theologians and organizers, the Arianism referred to earlier in connection with the Gothic Christian movement, was overcome and substituted by Roman orthodoxy.

Spain, although it had had some genuinely spiritual evangelism, was still largely heathen in the fourth century. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was overrun by the Ostrogoths, who were Arian in faith. In 587 the king accepted the Roman interpretation, and in the brief space of two years formally identified his entire country with that church. Yet, "by its side, in groups here and there, idolatry and Judaism had their partisans." "Their death was decided upon," and was proceeded upon with a large measure of success.

ROMAN CHRISTIANITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

Before his exaltation to the papacy, Gregory the First had become greatly interested in the Angles, according to tradition having been fascinated by their fair hair and skin and blue eyes when he saw some captives in Rome. He is said to have declared that they were well named, for they were indeed like "angels." He is credited with purposing himself to go as a missionary to England. In 596 he designated Augustine as his representative to plant Christianity there. Only remnants of any previous work were found in southeast England, and progress was slow at first. Later it became much more rapid, and in fifty years the entire "Anglo-Saxon heptarchy had abandoned idolatry." The work continued to grow. It came into contact, as indicated above, with the Celtic Christianity. Controversies arose and were the more intense because the leaders of the newer movement were eager to incorporate all Christians under the central authority of Rome. The Synod of Whitby, 664, marks the formal victory, and by the end of that century most of England was in the Roman Catholic Church, although the inclusion was not complete until the Norman conquest.

Out of the Northumbrian centre came Wilfrid to Friesland (687); Willebrord, "the Apostle of Holland," who led an apostolic band of twelve (690); the brothers Ewald into the same region; Alcuin, the able and influential teacher of Charlemagne; and, besides many others, Winfrid, greatest of English missionaries before modern times. From 716 onward he was at once a great missionary worker, general and statesman. Throughout the Germanic regions he "converted, organized missions and converts, and reorganized churches into the one Church of Rome." His ability and worth were recognized, and he was honoured by the popes and supported by the influence and power of Charles Martel. With Utrecht as his episcopal see and base of operations, he conducted and supervised a wide range of work. "Allemani, Hessians, Bavarians, Saxons and Franks of various tribes heard the Gospel from him and turned to Christ in great numbers."

It is said that a hundred thousand were baptized under his immediate direction. In addition to bringing such great numbers into the faith, he was the most powerful agent in solidifying all this central European region as a part of the Catholic Church. It was altogether appropriate that his official cognomen was Boniface.

OTHER MISSIONARIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Into this region there came also notable workers from the south. Amandus from Aquitania, in the middle of the seventh century, sought to bring the Frieslanders into the Church, at first by authority of a royal commission from his king, Dagobert, but found preaching and the monastery more effective agencies. Eligius (St. Eloy), a goldsmith of Limoges, at the same period became a powerful missionary preacher and later a deeply consecrated and intelligent bishop for the converts. The great organizer in the Netherlands region, however, was Willebrord. With twelve helpers, he won many converts and organized churches. Having gained papal recognition and honours and the patronage of Pepin, he succeeded in organizing all Frankish Friesland within the Roman Church, but failed in his efforts in the independent Frisia and in Denmark. His labours covered a period of half a century, to 739.

The Lombards were already, formally at least, Arians when they took possession of North Italy. After much conflict and political manoeuvres lasting through almost a century, they were included in the Roman Church. Rupert of Worms was a great missionary in Bavaria, with headquarters from which later arose the Salzburg Cathedral. Here also Wolfram laboured with sympathy and success alongside the Scottish workers.

Charlemagne perhaps ranks first among the royal patrons of missionary expansion and of the authority of the Roman Church. It has been said that the "method of his apostolate overthrew all barriers." From 776 to 804, as he was building his empire, he was also vigorously forcing the German Saxons into submission and conversion, since they had resisted the milder efforts of the Northumbrian missionaries. Charlemagne had them baptized first and evangelized afterward, a service in which some of the English workers took part. He pressed the limits of the Roman Church far to the eastward in Europe.

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

The evangelization of the Scandinavians is a romantic chapter in missionary history, fascinating also because of the remarkable missionary spirit which these peoples have manifested in all their subsequent history. When Harold of Denmark sent a plea to King Louis, in 822, for political support, the monarch took advantage of the opportunity to send Ebo as a missionary to the Danes. He failed to receive any encouragement. His political backing was against him. He gave up in failure, but attention had turned strongly in this direction and the way had to be opened. Ansgar became the great Apostle of the Scandinavians, a man of indomitable spirit, able gifts and untiring resourcefulness. The present city of Hamburg was the base of operations. A crude stone effigy occupies a position

on one of the central balustrades on an ancient bridge over the Elbe. He was three times driven out of Denmark, but finally succeeded in planting Christianity there in 847, and his work was completed by Canute, who employed English missionaries in the task. The Church became all-inclusive in that land in 1060. It is to be noted here, by anticipation, that Denmark became the earliest post-reformation promoter of Protestant missions.

In Sweden the earliest Christianity seems to have arisen informally, just as did the first extension beyond Palestine into Antioch. King Bjorn sent to Germany for priests. At the moment, Ansgar was experiencing one of his banishments from Denmark, and accepted the new opportunity. After his visit, in 832, he sent Gautbert, Nithard and others, while he renewed his own efforts in Denmark. The missionaries had sufficient success to arouse a heathen reaction, which broke up the work. But in 841, Ansgar again took it up and enlisted others. Progress was slow until English missionaries carried it through to entire success in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As for Norway, the Vikings who had learned their Christianity in England carried it with them when they made conquest of this land.

VII

PERIOD OF SPORADIC MISSIONS: FIVE HUNDRED LEAN YEARS

1000 TO 1500

WE come now to a period of lowered spiritual vitality within the Church, which was preoccupied with many problems, concerns and conflicts within her own territory. There was little capacity for outreaching, and the occasion for it was not so obvious or so urgent as in previous times. The reign of the Church had largely obscured the rule of the Christ. Masses had been swept into the Church without any immediate concern that they should experience regeneration or have intelligent or voluntary acceptance of the doctrines and adherence to the institution. The belief in baptismal regeneration of infants which had now become almost universal, and the reliance on mysterious sacramental efficacy for sanctification and heavenly admission strongly militated against regeneration and spiritual reality within the Church. The complete professionalizing of a priestly ministry largely eliminated laymen from direct evangelism and robbed them of the missionary spirit, since they could not be trusted to teach and could not validly administer the saving symbols. The reliance on organization and ceremonial grace, along with the growing concept of the representative relation of the Pope on earth to the Christ in heaven, involved a practical ignoring of the Holy Spirit as the divinely ordained Counterpart of the Christ and the informing soul of the Church. In the plan of Jesus the Holy Spirit is the perpetual inspirer, inaugurator, director and power in the missionary enterprise. When He is overlooked and has not free course in the followers of Christ, missions are sure to lose their compelling conviction and energy. There were numerous more or less organized movements of opposition to the centralizing and formalizing tendencies within Christendom. Likewise there was vigorous protest in many quarters against the moral corruptions and the unspiritual methods which increasingly received the sanction of the responsible authorities under the exigencies of political and ecclesiastical compromise. The extensive and marked differences between the eastern and the western branches of Christianity culminated in a final and formal breach in 1054, when Pope and Patriarch mutually excommunicated each other and consigned each other to eternal damnation.

The Western Church had largely left behind not only the Greek culture from which it was alienated by the breach with the Eastern Church, but had in the main forgotten the classical Roman culture, because of the interplay of ideas and forces in the pagan invasions and the new direction which was given to the composite social movement. Out of the confusion

society was being organized on a feudal basis, which inevitably resulted in suppressing individuality, subordinating all except the limited few, and cutting off physical facilities for travel and intercourse on the part of ordinary men.

The vast territorial extent of Christianity and the very general ignorance of world geography made it possible for Christians to lose sight of the non-Christian world and to feel, even if somewhat vaguely, that the Christian task was complete so far as its world occupation was concerned. The Mohammedan growth had encircled the Christian territories. The relations between Christendom and the Mohammedan world fostered anything else than a spirit of helpfulness and a disposition to give the blessings of one to the other. Christian information about the heathen world was largely cut off by this wall of Mohammedanism; and in order to reach the heathen, missionaries would have to make their way through Mohammedan territory.

The Church having definitely set itself to be a political power, having possessed itself of a distinct political unit in Italy in which it was the exclusive power, and having adopted a definite policy of exercising a controlling influence over all political states in the interest of the salvation, spiritual welfare and moral and ethical realization of mankind, found itself continuously occupied with political questions. Wars were almost continuous between rival claimants to power among the "sons of the Church." Peoples were being shifted from one political control to another. Roman Catholic rulers were contending with Greek Catholic rulers for territory along the border line between the two sections of Europe. In every section there were questions and problems sufficient to engage all the ability of the Church's statesmen and to divert their attention from the definitely spiritual work to which the Church was called.

GREAT HOME MISSION TASKS

Those within the Church who were concerned primarily with spiritual matters found an immediate and pressing challenge for their interest and efforts right at hand. In the first place, there was the great mass of people who, while within the Church, as yet had no living, personal experience of grace and no intelligent knowledge of spiritual matters. There were still pagans in practically all parts of Europe who did not even formally acknowledge Christianity, even though many of them may have been baptized.

Then there were "heretical sects" whose "conformity" was at most only external and perfunctory to avoid persecution and other uncomfortable consequences; and some who were often openly and defiantly non-conformist. From the beginning of the eleventh century these sects increased in number, and in numbers, and gave to the Church an ever growing problem upon which it exerted tremendous energies in the effort to overcome them. From the Church's standpoint these constituted an objective of missionary endeavour. From another standpoint they are to be regarded themselves as vital missionary agencies for the conversion of souls, the development of spiritual religion, and the cultivation of

righteous, moral and ethical attitudes and behaviour. The most notable of these sects were the Albigenses who arose in southeastern France; the Petrobrusians (and Henricians) in western Switzerland; the Waldenses who began in southern France and spread into Italy, where they continue as an important factor in the religious life in the present day; and the scattered groups of what came to be recognized in the Reformation era as a powerful movement of Anabaptists, and who constituted a considerable influence within the period now before us.

Jews were numerous in various parts of Europe, especially in Spain, where also the Mohammedan Moors constituted a great challenge to the Church. Thus Spain afforded the largest home mission field for this period. Here and elsewhere throughout Europe pagans who had not yet been incorporated in the Church, Jews, Moors and the large unspiritual element formally incorporated in the Church, but lacking personal experience and voluntary adherence, constitute a great problem and absorb energies and resources in the effort to carry forward the work of Christianizing territory already dominated by the Church through its Christian rulers and otherwise.

MONASTIC ORDERS IN MISSIONS

The Benedictine order, which had begun its work in 529, continues in this period educational and cultural activities, but is surpassed in membership, standing and efficiency by the two great monastic orders which arose in this period.

Francis of Assissi is one of the great saints of Christendom. Turning from a life of luxurious dissipations, he repudiated the world, with all its allurements and lust, to a degree rarely equalled; and gave himself, with the simplicity of a child, with entire devotion and with extraordinary ability to the cultivation of personal piety, to the propagation of personal experience and loyalty to Jesus Christ, and to the inculcation of genuine religion in the midst of a mass of formalism and corruption. In 1210 he organized a brotherhood with most rigid rules of austere self-denial and devotion. Popularly called after his name, the Franciscans constituted in this period the most sincere and spiritual influence in the Church and continue unto our own day a religious power within the Roman organization. They were especially useful in vitalizing Christians and in converting the heathen in central southern Europe. We must consider them again for the attitude and influence of Francis with Mohammedans.

Only six years after Francis constituted his order, Dominicus formed one, which is also known by the name of the founder. His primary objective was the conversion of heretics and the prevention of schism within the Church. He and his followers set out with the idea of using reason and persuasion. They were devoted to learning, increasingly supplied professors for the universities and generally cultivated an educated leadership for the Church. In 1232 they were honoured by being made the official ministers of the Inquisition, which had been set up in 1229 as a method of restraining those who might be inclined to independence,

and for inducing conformity to the rule and teaching of the Church. In 1235 the effectiveness of this method was heightened by increased authority conferred by the Pope, and thus the Dominicans throughout our period were the greatly honoured and highly efficient agency of regularity. In 1483 Torquemada received his appointment and distinguished himself as the most ruthless and thoroughgoing of all those who sacrificed the goods, freedom and lives of men, in the interest of their eternal salvation by compelling them to accept the saving ministries of the Church, even if they must die in the process. Of course the political power, with its civil and military instruments, was used by the spiritual agents for the execution of physical pains and penalties. It would be a serious mistake, however, to overlook the fact that there were many spiritual workers who devoted themselves to the gentler and more Christian means of leading men into the paths of salvation and into the fold of the Church; such, for example, as Fernando de Talafera, Bishop of Granada, at the end of the fifteenth century. By these means the sects were in large measure restrained and suppressed. The unity of the Church was promoted and maintained by preventing those who might be inclined to go outside its system, as also by inducing many who had gone to return to the bosom of the sometimes stern mother. Multitudes of Jews were brought to nominal acceptance of Christianity. Many suffered persecutions and disabilities, while in Spain great numbers were imprisoned and killed. Such as refused to yield were banished in 1492. The course with the Moors and the outcome was similar to that with the Jews. There were those who tried to win them by more or less evangelistic methods; bribes, threats and torture were brought into play; finally they were given the choice between immediate baptism or expulsion, the majority accepting the baptism. The work in Spain was complete by 1502.

FOUR FIELDS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

The efforts to extend the territory of the Kingdom of the Gospel—the more strictly missionary activity—properly fall into four divisions. These are determined by the subjects of missionary endeavour, as also by the different geographical sections of the world in which they are found.

NORTHERN EUROPE

(1) Certain small countries in Northeastern Europe remained still outside the Church in the year 1000, which we have marked in a general way as the termination of the period of the "Conversion of Europe": Poland, Wendland, Prussia, Lithuania, Pomerania, Esthonia, Courland. These peoples were partly Slavic and partly Germanic. Poland and (east) Prussia of course came later to be of great importance in European history. At this time they are, however, relatively small regions occupied by vigorous, independent pagan clans. These were all incorporated within the Church in this period, as were also for the most part the Finns and the Lapps, the last two by the application of the authority of Danes and Swedes. The work was achieved mostly by force of arms and always by the use of political influence and authority. Their conversion was more

submission to force and authority and the following of prudential considerations than convinced and loyal adherence to the Christian faith and institution. They were subdued rather than converted, which in part explains why they so readily accepted Protestantism when the Lutheran Reformation gave the instigation and the opportunity. They had never really been wrought into the Church of Rome, and their present conversion was chiefly a preparation for the freer acceptance of Christianity under later conditions.

In Poland heroic romance played its part. It was his wife, Dambrowka, who led the Duke Mieceslav to favour the Christian faith, toward the close of the tenth century. Later the Roman Church gave a special dispensation permitting the nun, Oda, to give herself to this ruler in order further to promote the Christianizing of the country. Then, in 1034, the Prince, Cassimir, who had become a Benedictine monk in Germany, was absolved from his vows so that he might accept the throne of Poland and complete its Christianizing. Pomerania was incorporated in Poland, nominally accepting Christianity, but retaining such violent pagan independence as to make Polish bishops unwilling to attempt their orderly induction into the Church. A Spanish monk, Bernard, undertook the task, but the Pomeranians would not believe that a mendicant preacher represented the God of the universe. A German bishop, Otho, on two missionary tours carried all the pomp of Roman officialdom and was far more impressive. He succeeded in harmonizing the great centres, baptizing thousands of candidates. Barnes tells us that "the Island of Ruegan, . . . in the Baltic Sea, was the last stronghold of paganism in that region." Here, after Denmark had annexed the island, one Absolom of Roeskild invaded the chief heathen temple and had axe-bearers demolish the huge idol, Svanovit, convincing the people of the superior power of the Christian God and making them willing to submit to the new faith. This was in 1168, completing, as Barnes points out, the nominal inclusion of the Slavic peoples in the Christian Church.

It was just about the year 1000 that the first two missionaries adventured among the East Prussians. Adelbert went from Bohemia and Bruno went from Saxony. Both were martyred, and it was two hundred years before others tried it, to meet the same fate. Finally Christianity began to win a following among the Prussians in the beginning of the thirteenth century under the ministry of Christian, a monk from Pomerania. The Dominicans now took up the work and associated with themselves crusading German knights, whose methods were more effective, at least on the surface. The Prussians were brought into the Church, while the knights remained to claim and administer the feudal estates. Retaining much of their former spirit and some of the older pagan customs, the people were ready to follow the Protestant revolt against the Roman Church, which had seemed to them more a political master than a minister of salvation.

Lithuania was the last of the German peoples to be won; and their case illustrates some of the processes and weaknesses of the work of converting Europe. Hedwig, who was heiress to the throne of Poland, yielded

to the desire of Jagellon (Ladislas III.) and became his wife on condition of his becoming a Christian, 1386. La Garde says: "Then passing through Lithuania, he overthrew the pagan sanctuaries, destroyed the idols, urged his subjects to become Christians, and promised woolen clothing to those who took his advice. The apostolic mission of the prince, and especially the woolen clothing, had an irresistibly persuasive effect. The nobles were baptized one at a time; as for the lower classes—they were divided into groups, which were sprinkled with holy water. Shortly after this comforting ceremony, Lithuania received a bishop." No wonder La Garde adds: "Several historians state that half a century later, the Lithuanians were at heart pagans, and sought to set up their idols once more." Thus Europe is at last all "Christian" and in either the Greek or the Roman Church; but this was completed just at the moment when the standards of Reformation revolt are being raised; and we enter upon a new period of church history and of Christian missions.

WEST AFRICA AND ISLAND GROUPS

(2) The west coast of Africa and the groups of islands lying westward in the Atlantic constitute a distinct field of limited effort and success in the extension of Christianity in this period. The Canary Islands were colonized and as a matter of course Christianized under the leadership of the Baron Jean de Bethencourt, of Normandy, whose professed motive was missionary. The missionaries, Franciscan monks, wrote the story of this mission in *The Canarian*, a book of the conquest and conversion of the Canarians. They represent that they are supporting their knightly patron, who was emulating "the great adventures, bold deeds, and fair exploits of those who undertook voyages to conquer the heathen in the hope of converting them to the Christian faith." The work succeeded and the Baron made a personal visit to the Pope in the interest of his mission and secured the appointment of Albert de las Casas as "Bishop of all the Canary Islands." Albert "demeaned himself so well, so graciously and in such a pleasant manner, that he found favour with all the people, and was the cause of many great blessings to the whole country. He preached very often, now in one island and then in another." This was early in the fifteenth century.

We are now in the beginnings of Portuguese and Spanish adventure which are to develop into the most romantic of all eras of discovery, exploration and colonization. Henry, a prince of the blood in Portugal, repudiated all purely secular life and service, to devote himself, with all his resources, to the study of geography and exploration. He built an observatory overlooking the ocean and for forty years promoted exploration. Under his patronage the Azores were colonized, the Madeira, Canary, and Cape Verde Islands were discovered, and the African coast was touched here and there for more than a thousand miles beyond the farthest point previously known in Europe. Among the reasons which the Prince himself assigned for his course his chronicler, Azurara, tells us "the fifth reason was the great desire to make increase in the faith

of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to Him all the souls that should be saved . . . whom the said Lord Infant by His travail and spending would fain bring into the true path." The beginnings of Henry were followed up throughout the fifteenth century and onwards. Missionary priests were located in various places. John II. sent an expedition to the Gold Coast, immediately building a fort and a church, in 1482, and in 1484 an expedition under Diego Cam entered the Congo. King John took the keenest interest in this work, receiving with joy natives who were taken to Portugal, especially one of the chiefs who came as an "ambassador." This man, Cazuta by name, was baptized along with his suite, under the sponsorship of the king and queen, and on his return was accompanied by a considerable group of missionaries. Thus at various points on the African coast missionaries were planted. They came in contact with Mohammedanism and with the gross paganism. Their methods were not the wisest, and the type of Christianity was unsatisfactory in form and in moral influence. These explorations led to inaugurating African slavery for the West and in other respects exploiting the natives and introduced new debasing influences. Here was, however, a Christian beginning which left some traces behind for the later centuries.

MOHAMMEDANS

(3) The Mohammedan peoples in western Asia, north Africa, and southeastern Europe constituted a most inviting field of missionary endeavour, had European Christians been in any attitude of soul to see it and if the internal conditions and the resources had left them free to accept it. But when the Mohammedan political powers were constantly pressing upon the Europeans with force and threatening to flow over into Europe with destructive invasion, perhaps we should not wonder that the at best only half Christian Europe failed to react in vigorous missionary effort. Following the Mongol invasions, the Turks poured in their Golden Horde into western Asia and southeastern Europe for two centuries from 1237, taking the political leadership of the Mohammedan world, with Constantinople as the base of their operations, from which they extended their name to a vast territory and built up an empire. For a time they dominated Russia and permanently affected its Christianity. They destroyed or reduced the older political centres of Mohammedanism, but accepted the Mohammedan faith and became its promoters. While the two periods of Mongol devastation ended with the death of Tamerlane, 1405, the Ottoman Turks had destroyed all Christian government remaining in western Asia, from 1300 onward, establishing their capital at Adrianople, in 1335. Upon the death of Tamerlane, the Turks became aggressive and captured Constantinople, and ruled there from 1453. Thus the Byzantine Empire was permanently destroyed. The Turks spread over all southwestern Asia, Egypt and north Africa, and pressed into the Balkan regions to besiege Vienna. They left a memorial in an independent Turkish island, the minarets of whose mosque lift themselves in western Roumania (eastern Hungary before the late war) unto this day.

The most vigorous reaction of Christian Europe to the Mohammedan world was the Crusades. Through more than two centuries these movements continued as a Christian effort to recover lands sentimentally sacred as having been the earliest homelands of the Christian faith. While they were mainly ineffective so far as extending Christian territory is concerned, and wholly unworthy so far as missionary motive is involved, they did serve to check Mohammedan expansion, and to win some converts, as well as to establish certain Christian rights within the Turkish Empire which otherwise might have been permanently abolished. Their chief value lies in their giving an outlet to that vital spirit which inheres in any living religion, and which was stimulated even by the mistaken enthusiasm which swept millions of people into the effort to recover the territory and restore the prestige of Christianity. Another benefit of primary importance was the infusing into the cultural life of Europe of the classical influences of Greek culture, including the Greek Bible, and the scientific spirit of the Arabic culture. These two factors promoted a new advance in the life of Europe, one aspect of which was a purified Christianity which would enter upon a new era of world expansion.

Francis of Assisi, with his keen spiritual insight, unselfish devotion and universal human sympathy, saw that the attitude of Christendom was fundamentally wrong. He vigorously sought to change that attitude and to induce the Christian authorities to undertake the conversion of the Moslems. For years he laboured in this effort. He was interested also in foreign missions on a wider scale. A sub-division of his order embraced those who especially shared this conviction and desire. With all his piety and spiritual power he failed to procure the sanction of Rome for his enterprise. Nevertheless, in a limited way he saw work undertaken in Tuscany, Morocco, Spain, Syria, in addition to the spiritual evangelism which his order carried on within the Church in Germany, Hungary and France. He himself spent a year and a half, 1218-19, on missions in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. His bold gentleness and gracious daring secured for him the privilege of preaching to the Sultan at Damietta and of freely proclaiming his Gospel among the soldiers. His work amounted to little more than a genuinely Christian gesture abroad, but was a powerful testimony within the Church to the true Christian attitude toward non-Christian peoples.

Another apostle of the missionary idea of Christ was Raymond Lull, 1234-1315. A courtier to the King of Spain and then Senechal of the island of Majorca, where he inherited rich estates, he was giving himself up to sensuous living and literary work. While he was in the midst of writing a sensual love poem, the crucified Christ was thrust into his mind with the vividness of a vision. When he again tried to finish his poem the vision was repeated in similar fashion. He became a passionate devotee of Christ and was possessed with Francis' idea of the duty of evangelizing the Mohammedans. For forty-five years he devoted himself to the propagation of this idea and to putting it into effect. Extensively he agitated to this end, appealing to popes, civil rulers, councils, congregations and private individuals. He was in danger of making himself a nuisance to

unwilling listeners, and was sometimes repulsed with the taunt that he might go to the Mohammedans himself. He prepared a form of literary propaganda for use in conduct of missions. In his *Ars Magna* he provided a handbook of questions and answers by means of which he thought that a missionary must certainly convince any Mohammedan of the superior truth and value of the Christian faith. Also he procured the introduction of the study of Oriental Languages, with professorships in the principal universities of the day, including Paris, Salamanca, Oxford. His own idea was that in this way missionaries would be trained for the work which he was urging in the East. Ultimately his wish is being slowly carried out in this twentieth century. He aroused little positive response so far as his main purpose was concerned, although he did greatly contribute to the cultural awakening of Europe. He proved his faith by his works. After travelling through southern Europe and into England, he devoted himself to personal labours in Egypt, Palestine and as far as Armenia. He made three missionary journeys into North Africa—Tunis and Bugia—where he finally had the experience of Stephen and “fell asleep” under a shower of stones, while praying that God would forgive in Christ those who knew not what they did.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA

(4) The widest field, with the most adventurous missionary work in this period, is among the pagan populations of Asia, chiefly in the remarkable empire of the Great Khans, who arose, flourished and fell within this period. Heroic missionaries travelled, mainly on foot, through all Central Asia into India, and as far as western China. They were mostly Franciscans and Dominicans; but others joined in the work.

First to undertake the evangelization of these Tatars were the Nestorians. A king of the Kerait tribe sent an invitation to the Archbishop at Merv, east of the Caspian Sea, just after the year 1000. This invitation stirred enthusiasm among the Nestorians as far as Damascus and induced a new Christian movement of evangelization, continuing for some four hundred years. We are to remember also that this is the period when Mongol migrations rolled westward even into Hungary and Poland, thus giving rise to a number of official, semi-political missions which enlisted the labours of able and notable men.

We know about the Nestorian work chiefly through the reports of the missionaries from Europe, whose references to them are sufficiently numerous and detailed to make it clear that they were active and influential. Some of the Catholic missionaries sought earnestly to persuade the Nestorians to come into their church, and some expressed great impatience and resentment that the Nestorians were hindering the Kingdom of God and the Christianizing of the millions of the Chinese by their obstinate sectarianism. In the middle of the thirteenth century (1246), the King of Armenia sent his brother, Sempad, on an embassy of friendship to the Khan. Sempad reported a council of “Tartar Barons and soldiers,” who had come together from the various sections of the realm so widely scattered that it had been five years since the death of the previous

Khan before this council could choose and exalt his successor. From the members of this council he claims to have learned of Christians in all parts of the great empire; that the grandfather of the present Khan had "granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to prohibit their having any just cause of complaint by word or deed;" and that the "Saracens" were in their turn receiving "in double measure" the persecuting treatment which they had formerly inflicted on Christians. One of the most notable Catholic missionaries reported that the Nestorians, "who profess to bear the Christian name, but who deviate sadly from the Christian religion, have grown so powerful in those parts that they will not allow a Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel or to publish any doctrine different from their own;" although he proceeds to give an account of the prosperity of his own work which seems to conflict with his charge of repressive conduct on the part of the Nestorians. The Nestorians seem clearly to have established themselves, with extensive success, as far as Peking and thence southward, in much of China.

The Franciscans particularly, and the Dominicans also, had strong men who were quick to take advantage of the opening in Asia. The request of the Kerait Khan for missionaries occasioned a report, which spread throughout Europe and persisted, about a certain "Prester John," an unique priest-king who held sway over a large part of the continent. This myth is said to have "attached more or less to all the Tartar sovereigns." The Pope, in 1245, sent John, of Plano Carpini, a Franciscan of the first following, as a missionary to the Khans. He reached the headquarters of the great Khan, Karakorum, within less than a thousand miles of Peking. He was a man between sixty and seventy years of age, but discharged his mission with facility and success. He arrived in time to witness the selection of Kuyuk for his Khanate. He had an audience with him and returned with a highly favourable report of the conditions and prospects, as also with information concerning China, Kathay as it was then called in Europe.

The King of France sent William Rubruque and two other Franciscans as missionaries. Arrived at Karakorum, they found that Mangou had succeeded Kuyuk as Khan. He held a public conference of religions, inviting representatives of Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity to present their cause, but with the warning that death would follow for any who quarrelled. The Roman missionary effected an agreement with the Nestorians for co-operation between the two Christian groups. The Nestorians opposed the Mohammedans, since they knew them better, while the Catholics undertook to confute the Buddhists. The Mohammedans emphasized their agreements with the Christians, even joining with them in chanting. The Emperor concluded the conference with the statement that "as God has given the hand several fingers, so He has prepared for men various ways by which they may go to heaven." He declared that although God has "given the Gospel to the Christians, . . . they do not obey it," while he claimed that the Mongols "do what their soothsayers command, and therefore they have peace."

Kublai Khan, in the middle of the thirteenth century, came to the head

of the great empire founded by the mighty Genghis, extended and organized it until he ruled the widest continuous extent of territory ever under the lordship of one man. He was cosmopolitan and liberal in his attitude toward all religions. Unless there was some special provocation it was the policy of all these Khans to allow entire freedom to any and all religious sects, often patronizing them freely. It was in his reign that the Polos were on their famous tour which uncovered China before the imagination of Europe. Marco Polo won such favour for himself that he was not only the friend of rulers, receiving honours and favours, but left such a name with the Buddhist monks that one may find his effigy among the twice nine Boddhisatwas who line the approach to the triple images of the Buddha which surmount the high altar in many a Buddhist temple today. Kublai commissioned Marco's father and uncle, Nicolo and Maffeo, to represent him in a request of the Pope "to send one hundred learned men . . . to instruct the people in western knowledge and in the Christian religion." When they arrived, it was in 1270, the period of the "Babylonian captivity," when rival claimants were contending for the Apostolic See and the cardinals could not agree. Ecclesiastical politics made impossible the acceptance of a supreme opportunity of the Church for missionary work. It was some years before any response could be given, by Gregory X., and then it was only two (Dominicans), instead of the hundred asked for, and they turned back before reaching their destination. Papal Europe was just then too occupied with politics and factions, and besides was more eager for another great crusade in the effort to capture the Holy Sepulchre than to follow on after the risen Christ, Who was leading the way into the heart of the greatest empire the world knew at that time.

At the end of the thirteenth century, one of the greatest of missionary spirits, the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino, was sent with papal commission and, although already in middle life, spent more than thirty-five years in heroic service. He went by way of Persia, leaving there in 1291, and spent thirteen months in India, where he "baptized, in different places about one hundred persons," and buried in the church of the St. Thomas Christians his companion missionary, a Dominican, Nicholas. By the time he had arrived, the capital of the Khan had been established in Cambalec, the name of what was later Peking, recently renamed Peiping by the Republic. It was twelve years before he had any communication from his Pope, any member of his order or any one else in Europe. He succeeded in baptizing, as he estimated, "some six thousand persons," and says that but for reports which were spread abroad by a certain Lombard about the papal conditions and other ecclesiastical matters, which the good missionary regarded as wicked slanders, he "should have baptized more than thirty thousand." He had bought up one hundred and fifty boys from their pagan parents, "of ages varying from seven to eleven, who had never learned any religion." These he was training as religious workers, teaching them Greek and Latin, writing out for them and having them copy Psalters, Hymnaries and Breviaries. He pleads most earnestly for missionaries and for equipment for his work.

In 1317 seven Franciscans were sent by the Pope with a commission as

archbishop for John, while they were themselves each to serve as a missionary bishop. Three of these died *en route* and a fourth returned to Europe. One of these bishops, Andrew of Perugia, established himself in Zayton, a thousand miles south of Cambalec, where he found already Persian (Nestorian) influence and a wealthy Armenian lady who built for him a cathedral, maintaining it "with a competent endowment" which was passed on by her will to Andrew's successor. Andrew had secured an allowance from the Emperor for his own maintenance, and his work flourished. He found more of religious liberty than he liked, provided of course his could have been the favoured faith. He writes: "'Tis a fact, that in this vast empire there are people of every nation under heaven and of every sect, and all and sundry are allowed to live freely according to their creed. For they hold this opinion, or rather this erroneous view, that everyone can find salvation in his own religion." He is able to report that "many of the idolaters are baptized," but regrets that there are no converts from Jews and Saracens. He regretfully admits that "many of the baptized walk not right in the path of Christianity."

A picturesque Franciscan, Odoric of Pordenone, travelled as a free lance missionary through India, Burma, southwest China to Zayton, where he deposited the bones of missionary martyrs who had died on their way to China and which he had brought with great pains as relics. Continuing his journey, he crossed northern China, visiting his missionary brethren. In Cambalec he found his Minor Friars ministering in the Emperor's court, while he is able to tell of "our own converts to the faith, of whom there be some who are great Barons at that court." He next invaded Tibet, finding Christian missionaries in the capital there. After sixteen years, he returned home in 1330. He was hindered by illness from returning to Asia with a new group of missionaries. The accounts represent him as claiming to have baptized twenty thousand converts, although Barnes thinks this may be an error of his amanuensis or of a copyist.

MISSIONS IN THE FIVE KHANATES

The empire of the Khans was subdivided into five subordinate Khanates. In all of these missions were carried on during this period. After Kublai, the divisions began to fall apart and confusion progressively arose. In Persia, the royal favour wavered between Christianity and Mohammedanism. In 1305 the capital was established at Sultania, which grew into a magnificent city. The Dominican missionaries speedily established here twenty-five churches. In 1318 an archbishopric was set up with six missionary bishops to carry on the work. Franciscans also laboured in Persia with the claim that they had ten thousand converts.

The Great Khan sent an embassy to the Pope from Peking, in 1338. In return, the Pope sent John of Marignolli at the head of a band of Franciscans. After visiting the mission in Chagatai, the chief town of the "Middle Empire," they arrived and were royally received. After four years he returned with a request that the Pope would appoint a cardinal for China, but again the Church was too preoccupied with home affairs and problems to give proper attention to its missions.

In 1368 the Tatar Dynasty was overthrown in China, the empire was already broken in pieces, there came an anti-foreign reaction. All foreigners were driven out of China and Christianity almost disappeared in the two centuries which intervened before a new mission came in from another source. The warfares and conflicts of the petty successors to the great emperors practically closed all Asia to the outside world, and the period of great promise left behind it little that was permanent for Christianity in Asia.

INDIA

India's place in the missionary efforts of this period is secondary and incidental to the extensive campaigns in the Empire of the Khans, an empire which came to include all India, at least under remote recognition and rule.

To Marco Polo's story of his experiences and observations from 1270 to 1295, and to the Sir John Mandeville's (the name is, of course, fictitious) highly coloured and unconfessed handling of the Padre Odoric's narratives we owe most of the information of India in this period, as well as much of what we may learn of China, in which they were more interested. For India was at that time in the way of the best route to Cathay.

The Franciscan John of Monte Corvino, on his way to China to become its first really mighty Roman Catholic apostle and Archbishop, says that on his way he "spent thirteen months in that province where the church of the holy Apostle Thomas is; at different places in that province I baptized some hundred persons; my companion was Brother Nicolo de Pistorio of the Preaching Friars." This was in 1292-3.

Nearly twenty years later Menentillus, another Friar, found Christians and Jews in India, "but they are few and of no standing. Christians and all who have Christian names are often persecuted." Polo had found "great multitudes of Christians and Saracens" visiting the shrines of Thomas. Polo's observations were the more extensive, and the Mohammedan persecutions of Christians were probably beginning in the Malabar region only after this date. At all events, when, in 1319, Dominicans and Franciscans undertook more formally to labour in India, after preaching from Tabriz to Ormuz, they met violent antagonism at the hands of the "Saracens," with whom they disputed over the claims of the two religions as to Jesus and Mohammed. Four Franciscans were shortly slain. Their Dominican leader, Jordanus, remained two years. He wrote of India in a book, *Wonders of the East*. He records: "There, in the India I speak of, I baptized and brought into the faith about three hundred souls, of whom many were idolaters and Saracens," the rest being, of course, Nestorians, whose baptism and Christian standing he would not recognize. He found that "among the idolaters a man may with safety expound the Word of the Lord," and that converts among them were "not hindered from being baptized." Those who were "converted by the Preaching Minor Friars," he solemnly declares to be "ten times better" than "our folks here" in Europe. He is convinced that "if there be two hundred or three hundred good friars who would faithfully and fervently preach the Catholic

faith, there is not a year which would not see more than ten thousand, or thereabouts, converted to the Christian faith." He laments the many souls that are perishing "for lack of preachers of the Word of the Lord." He knew many forms of persecution. He tells of nine "there in my time cruelly slain for the Catholic faith," and exclaims: "Woe is me that I was not with them there!"

About this same time, Odoric of Pardenone, the Franciscan traveller whose destination was China, touched at various points in India, and his records give some general information concerning Christians, chiefly the Syro-Nestorians, in various sections. John of Marignolli, Papal Nuncio to China, tells some remarkable stories of his observations and experiences in India *en route* home, during two years, 1348-50. His narrative indicates an otherwise unknown prosperity and influence of Christianity in the Malabar regions. He dramatically dedicated a cross-crowned marble pillar on the promontory of Cape Comorin "in the presence of multitudes of spectators;" visited Christians in the Maldivé Islands, and was received with great honours by a princess whom he styles the "far-famed Queen of Sheba." In Ceylon, he suffered four months' imprisonment, and could learn nothing of the Christian Church there. There are no further efforts in India until the eighteenth century.

Thus, for a second time, a prosperous Christian movement with promising opportunity to become the true light of Asia, comes to a halt and fails for lack of spiritual insight, proper method and genuinely prophetic function. A widespread Christianity leaves behind chiefly diffused influences and traditions that will not facilitate the welcome for future bearers of the good news of the Christ.

VIII

PERIOD OF INNER REVOLUTION AND OUTWARD EXPLORATION

1500-1792

CONDITIONS in Europe in the fifteenth century were ripe for the inauguration of a new era. Old things must pass away. Some new advance must deliver from the intellectual, spiritual and political stagnation and decay. Westward the course of human ambition and progress will follow the lead of divine providence. We have seen the completion of the effort to incorporate all parts of Europe in the Roman Catholic Church. Within that Church there have arisen movements earnestly seeking to vitalize its machinery, to purify its practices and reform its living, to spiritualize and moralize its conception of religion and its influence on social life. Other movements have sought freedom of religious expression outside the all-comprehensive Church. These have been discouraged, repressed, persecuted, sometimes destroyed. Still, some have maintained a separate existence. In England, Wycliffe (1320-84), Professor in Oxford, began by opposing the political claims of the papacy and went on to reject the whole religious system of the Roman Church. He translated the entire Bible into English, thus beginning the method which not only would issue in a new movement within Christendom, but would introduce a new era in missionary activity. His organization of Lollards constituted a missionary movement for the circulation of the Scriptures and the popular preaching of evangelical doctrines. The combined power of Church and State in England, supported and urged onward from Rome, was not sufficient to suppress the movement. When his bones were burned, in 1429, and the ashes scattered upon the waters of the Severn, it was indeed a symbolic prophecy that a vital Christianity would be swept over the seas to all the shores of earth. Professors in the University of Prague learned from some of their students of Wycliffe's work. John Hus, the Rector of the University, began a similar movement in Bohemia. Although he was burned at the stake by the order of the Council of Constance, the flames of his martyrdom threw an awakening light into the souls of men. The whole country was on the verge of revolt against the Church. Vigorous measures and shrewd diplomacy, dividing the reform movement, weakened it, and it was "strangled in blood," but remnants of the effort remained, and will appear in our story three hundred years later.

We have seen how the promising beginning in Asia was terminated by the breaking up of the empire of the Great Khans. It would be easy to point out mistakes and weaknesses in the methods of Christian missions

which would largely explain the failure of their results to perpetuate themselves as a wiser and more genuinely Christian work might have done, even through the confused conditions into which the great continent fell. Their dependence upon political favour and the close relationships between Church and State, together with the failure to give to the new Christians the Bible in their own tongue, and the general lack of a Christian culture left the converts, however numerous they might be, inexperienced babes in the face of a world of paganism and confusion. It is to be noted also that, except for the Nestorians, who were regarded as heretical, the Greek Orthodox Church was taking no part in missions in Asia. That Church had already lost its projectile power. The Roman Catholic invasion of Asia was too subject to European politics and to Turkish Mohammedan interference to maintain itself in adverse circumstances. The effort to evangelize the Mohammedan peoples within the Turkish domains never enlisted the official support of the Church nor awakened popular enthusiasm. It was only a series of sporadic efforts on the part of a few great-souled Christian men. Of the four geographical spheres of activity which we saw challenging the Church in the five centuries following 1000 it was the least significant as it appeared at the time which was to expand into supreme importance in the next period. A few island groups and a few points only lightly touched on the African coast lured on to uncovered continents and unnumbered islands in previously unimagined seas, all occupied by primitive peoples waiting for the Law of the Lord.

A NEW AWAKENING OF THE WORLD

No one outstanding religious fact, nor any specific ecclesiastical incident, marks here the transition from one missionary period to another, yet we are moving from the inconsistent and largely futile mediæval missions to a series of new undertakings which will constitute a preparation for the first truly universal missionary era after apostolic days. Gradually we find ourselves in a changed spiritual world, and Christianity awakening to a new sense of its meaning and mission for humanity. The Lutheran Reformation was one of the most significant crises in the history of organized Christianity. Yet it had no immediate significance for Christian missions and produced no direct efforts to evangelize the heathen. It is to exploration, discovery and colonization that we must turn for the tangible explanation of a new movement in Christian expansion, and as the channel for the outgoing life of a missionary religion. The beginnings of adventure into unknown areas of the earth's surface, of which Prince Henry was the great exponent and prophet, produced an era of romance, heroism, enlightenment and enlargement, along with much of tragedy and shame. This new movement in territorial expansion and adventure lifted the mind of Europe out of the darkness of the Middle Ages and opened up before the spirit of man a horizon of possibility and a challenge to adventurous progress which reacted on the whole life of Europe and set in motion streams of quickening life throughout the world. It was truly the occasion of a rebirth of the human race, the full significance of which we are only just now beginning to understand.

If any one event is to be fixed on here for a transition point from one period of missions to another, it is the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. Columbus is not usually thought of as a Christian missionary. Yet it was this great feat of his that was at the same time an epochal achievement of human adventure and an act of God which would direct the attention and concentrate the energies of Christendom upon a world of opportunity and lead on to a campaign such as had not been in the mind of any one to conceive, and which would stir the heart of the Christian world for expansion and for proclaiming its Gospel of salvation as it had not been stirred for a thousand years.

The daring discoverer took especial interest and pride in his Christian name—*Christopher*. He loved to think that he was in a genuine sense a "Christ-bearer" to the pagans into whose lands he came. As he stepped from the ship, he planted the Spanish flag and the cross of Christ together on the shore and claimed all the territory which he might be discovering for his European sovereigns and for his Saviour and his Church. His royal patrons shared his own belief that Christianizing the heathen was at least one of the chief motives in this undertaking. It is well known that he believed that he was sailing for "the countries of India and of a Prince called Great Can." He was acquainted with the fact that the Khans had sent requests for "instructors who might teach 'them' our holy faith, and the holy Father (Pope) had never granted 'the request,' whereby great numbers of people were lost, being in idolatry and doctrines of perdition." In his official report, from which these quotations are taken, he spoke also of certain features of the people in the newly discovered territory, which he accounted a "circumstance very propitious for the realization of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene King, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ." Furthermore, in his will he provided that his son and his son's successor in the inheritance should "spare no pains in having and maintaining in the Island of Espanola four good professors of Theology to the end and aim of their studying and labouring to convert to our holy faith the inhabitants of the Indies; and in proportion as, by God's will, the revenue of the estate shall increase, in the same degree shall the number of teachers and devout persons increase, who are to strive to make Christians of the natives; in attaining which no expense should be thought of." He claims to have given "six or seven years of great anxiety" in the effort to impress "how great service might be done to our Lord by this undertaking, in promulgating His sacred name and our holy faith among so many natives." Prescott, historian of the Conquest of Mexico, declares that "there was nothing which the Spanish government had more earnestly at heart than the conversion of the Indians. It forms the constant burden of their instructions, and gave to the military expeditions in this western hemisphere somewhat the air of a crusade." Alas that the motives of adventure and greed so obscured the religious ideal and pressed it into the background that the whole movement took on the form of ruthless exploitation of the new lands and heartless slaughter and oppression of the newly discovered peoples. It is hardly possible now for us to think of Cortez, Pizarro, Magellan, Valasquez, and

that host of adventurers and buccaneers, of whom they are the best representatives, as missionaries of the Cross of the saving Christ. Yet in association with them were many monks and priests, some of whom gave themselves sacrificially to the effort to save the natives from future loss and ruin, and from the inhumanities imposed by the explorers, colonists and gold seekers. Whether by military force and compulsion and domination, or by the use of evangelistic and ecclesiastical agencies and methods the Roman Catholic Church did incorporate within itself all the American territory acquired by the Latin peoples.

FOUR LINES OF HUMAN ADVANCE IN EUROPE

Within Europe this period was marked with a forward rush along four separate and largely concurrent lines. There was a cultural renaissance, a religious reformation, an economic transition and a political revolution. In each direction humanity made a great surge forward. It is only natural that each phase of this movement gradually slowed down and suffered arrest so that in no direction was it pushed through to a logical outcome. The cultural renaissance introduced into European life the influences of classical literature and philosophy, widened the scope of learning, greatly increased the number of literate, although there was at that time no dream of democratizing education, or universalizing knowledge. Feudalism began to be broken up, serfdom was gradually abandoned and there were the beginnings of the development of the cities with the new types of industrial and economic life. Absolute monarchies were yielding to aristocratic rule with progressive increase in the numbers of those who exercised influence, although the constitution limiting the monarchy is delayed until the middle of our new period. While there are distinct "foregleams of the Reformation," the religious new era is definitely dated at the nailing of the ninety-five theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenburg, in 1517.

The new movement in religion was part and parcel of the new life in all Europe. It precipitated a long period of ecclesiastical conflicts. Romanism naturally undertook to suppress the Protestant movement and, failing that, to antagonize, embarrass and weaken it to the utmost of its ability; and it threw into this effort remarkable leadership, amazing strategy and extraordinary resources. Protestantism not only defended itself and struggled for its life and freedom, but set before itself, as a great undertaking with a divine calling, the winning of converts from the Roman Church. Within the older church there were many manifestations of the new life, vigorous efforts at reform and no little division and contention. Protestantism was not one movement, but a number of different movements. There were different interpretations; and the very ability of the greater leaders made it the more difficult for them to unite or to compromise. Protestantism was therefore broken up into a series of inharmonious movements, antagonizing each other at many points and coming into doctrinal and territorial competition and even conflict.

PROTESTANTISM NOT MISSIONARY

Such a vital renaissance in human society was bound to have its ration-

alistic aspects. The restraints of tradition and convention lost their hold on many. There were extensive movements of scepticism, humanism, illuminism, and what not. The political character and affiliation of the churches, Roman and Protestant, gave to them physical and social forces with which to prevent widespread desertion from the churches, but could not control the soul reaction against and away from religion. All this tended to restrain any emergent enthusiasm for the projection of Christianity beyond its present borders, while also it occupied the best intellects within the churches in apologetic and polemic labours.

If we cannot excuse, we can at least understand the fact that Protestantism took no interest in missionary work beyond the confines of Europe for a hundred and fifty years. It is less easy to understand, and less easy to justify, the active opposition to missions, when they came to be urged, on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities and systems, so that it was three centuries after Luther before we find any Protestant church formally accepting the responsibility for the evangelization of the heathen world. The bitter conflict with the Catholic Church; the struggle for existence, the complications with political rulers and with the affairs of the secular states, whose patronage seemed to most Christians in those days to be necessary to the continued existence of the new movement; the conflicts within Protestantism, and the preoccupation with defining their new faith, the construction of new creeds and liturgies, the definition and setting up of the ecclesiastical systems; the spirit of indifference and antagonism which had been engendered by the long period of the Mohammedan threat against Europe—all these served to prevent the world outside making its appeal to Protestant Christianity. Besides, there was the fact that the Scriptures had long played little part in the life of the Roman Church. The Protestants "searched the Scriptures" for justification of their course of revolt, and for guidance and confirmation in the building of their new forms of creed and structure. The universalism of the Christian Gospel and the purpose of divine revelation as yet made no impression upon them, and was quite overlooked. Christianity was interpreted as a function of the state, and it was difficult to think of it as extending beyond the limits of political and of governmental control. This idea of the dependence of the spiritual body upon the political protection and direction became a positive doctrine to be applied against the agitators in favour of missionary undertakings as this period advanced. Again, we are in a period of almost continual wars—dynastic wars, wars of conquest, religious wars and wars of human depravity. A military spirit is always unfavourable to any missionary movements, save those which are bound up with some form of secular aggression. Finally, the Protestants largely held to doctrines of divine election and of millennialism, which combine in the thinking of that day to make missionary effort useless from the human view-point and an impertinence in the face of the divine purpose.

It was the countries which adhered to the Catholic Church which provided the earliest discoverers and explorers, which had the navies and the material resources. They preceded the Protestant countries in colonization and annexation of new territory by more than a century. This in

large measure accounts for the fact that the Catholic Church was drawn into the new enterprise of missionary expansion. Besides, Catholics looked to the newly discovered lands as opportunity to compensate the heavy losses which they sustained when northern Europe went over almost solidly into Protestantism. The Catholic Church was able to claim the succession to extensive and dramatic missionary activities in Asia in the preceding period, as also to feel that going forth to convert the heathen world and to claim the newly discovered continents was an extension of the Crusades, which had failed to recover the Bible lands from the hands of the Moslem usurpers. By combining the human love of adventure and exploit, the greed for gain and empire, and the religious passion by which the grosser motives were sanctified, the Latin countries of Europe were stirred to an enthusiasm of conquest which swept them in both directions around the world in this period. Thus the Catholic Church experienced its most extensive and glorious era of missionary adventure and success. There has been nothing comparable to it until the new era of expansion upon which that Church has entered in the twentieth century. The new campaign is being conducted with more intelligence, more perfect organization, more worthy methods and with vaster resources than the earlier campaign. Whether it will be equally successful is to be determined by the outcome. The conditions under which it is now to be conducted are entirely different from those which, in the earlier period, made success easy.

This period of three hundred years, as we have seen, is characterized by polemical controversies, by political complications and by economic developments which, so far as Protestantism is concerned, interfere with the initiation of missionary activities. Such activities as we find will be associated more or less with political movements, or will depend entirely upon individual initiative and voluntary support. From the Protestant standpoint, the missionary work, which becomes increasingly extensive in the latter half of the period, will have its largest significance in its being preparatory to the acceptance of the world as a field demanding evangelization at the hands of vital Christianity. It is a preparation for a new period of evangelical missions. It is obvious that from this point onward the missionary efforts of the two different, distinct branches of Christendom will need to be treated mainly as separate movements.

IX

EFFORTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

I. OF THE HOLY ORTHODOX CHURCH

GREEK Catholic missions in this period call for but a brief paragraph. From about 1200 the Greek Church was mainly occupied for five hundred years with internal adjustments, schismatic conflicts, strifes over patriarchal successions and the location of sees; with the problems imposed by the Mongol invasions which for a time engulfed the whole of Russia; and with conflicts, contentions, warfares, secessions and repressions between Russian political and religious rulers on the one hand and Roman Catholic Germanic rulers on the other hand, which kept the border states in long extended confusion. The Mongol rulers were in principle tolerant of all faiths, and gave opportunity for Russian efforts at evangelization among the pagans, even within the Central Asian seats of empire. Even after their acceptance of the Mohammedan religion, the Mongol rulers were still tolerant and punished Christian representatives only when provoked by their intolerance or because of lack of understanding of the inability of Christians to consent to share in the practice of communal rites and ceremonies.

With the rise of Peter the Great and the extension of the empire eastward, the Russian Church entered upon a period of mild missionary aggressiveness, undertaking to incorporate the inhabitants of all new territory into their own church. Peter adopted and pursued a policy of liberal tolerance of religions already held by subjugated peoples, yet aided the missionary efforts of the Church by financial support, by official patronage and by political preferments. It is to be regretted that the Church, however, continued to be more concerned with orthodoxy, regularity, and uniformity than with evangelization and the cultivation of vital religious experience. In 1685, thirty-one Russians, including a priest, were carried captive to Peking and became a permanent colony. Their congregation received ecclesiastical recognition and was commanded to preach to Chinese. There is no evidence of any efforts to meet this opportunity until in the twentieth century.

II. OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

We have already seen that we are now entering upon a most remarkable period of Roman Catholic expansion; and have summarized the influences which produced it. Conquest, colonization and annexation in the islands and on the two American continents built up great Portuguese and Spanish empires by which the Church experienced, *de facto*, corresponding increase. All this advance was made "in accordance with the will of Christ,"

"for the glory of the Church," and "for the good of the pagans." On these grounds all methods were sanctified and all abuses and inhumanities condoned, if not justified. Both within Europe and elsewhere, so far as the different conditions required or permitted, the Church made use of all available political influence, diplomacy and strategy in retaining and extending territory and following. The method of group inclusions and mass conversions was everywhere employed. Practically all of South and Central America and Mexico were made Catholic, with the erection of a State Church in each newly established political unit. A very large part of the Indian population was incorporated and amalgamated with the invading races; yet large numbers of the Indians had no real insight into the faith of the Church into which they were baptized, and retained many of their pagan practices, while yet others escaped into the regions beyond the effective control of the colonists and have retained their older paganism and superstitions until the present day. In Mexico and Central America the heathen were practically all baptized and to a distressing extent their heathenism was baptized along with them. Many of their idols were re-christened with the names of Christian "saints," their sacred places were dedicated for Christian pilgrimages and miraculous manifestations, their seasonable festivals were merged with those already adopted and developed within the Church. All the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and numerous groups in the wider seas were brought into the Church, although the natives were often repressed and sometimes exterminated. A large part of North America experienced the benefits of ardent missionaries and the influence of exploiting traders and colonizing settlers. The subsequent conquest of Spanish and French territory by the British and the growth and expansion of the United States displaced the formal control of the territory by Catholic political powers. The Catholic Church continues to hold a large following and to exercise great influence in the United States and in eastern Canada. The hold which they gained upon the North American Indians in this period has been followed up, so that large numbers of them remain under the influence and tutelage of the Church. The Philippine Islands were won and constituted into a possession of Spain and a province of the Roman Church, except for a Mohammedan section in the Island of Sulu, which resisted conversion and retained its religious integrity. Gains in Malaysia were never great, and were not permanent, with very limited exceptions. We shall have to note extensive endeavours and large successes in China and Japan.

In Europe the Catholics succeeded in retaining Austria, Italy, Spain and Portugal solidly, loyally and intolerantly Catholic. After bitter conflict, with outcome doubtful, in Germany and the neighbouring states the Catholic Church yielded after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), but remained a strong factor with recognized legal standing. In France the Church was able to procure the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, and to enter upon a course which resulted in the death or starvation of half a million Protestants and the expatriation or reduction to a condition which amounted to political and economic slavery for two million more. These methods and conditions held the French people mainly within the Church,

but did not prevent them from going into various forms of rationalism and secularism, even while formally in the Church. In Great Britain, Catholics and Protestants alternated in authority, and each gave the other occasion to attain into the glory and blessedness of martyrdom. Protestantism finally gained the ascendancy, except in Ireland, which prides itself on being "the most Catholic" of all lands.

It is more pertinent and pleasing to take account of the missionary work in regions where, lacking political control, the Church devoted itself to more Christian missionary operations, not forgetting that even where political rule made possible compulsory methods there was still much of genuine spiritual effort by devoted and consecrated missionary workers. The older monastic missionary orders of Benedict, Francis, Dominicus threw multitudes of workers into these far-flung fields of opportunity. The Augustinians entered the list. In 1534 a group of Spanish young teachers and students in the University of Paris formed a volunteer band pledged "to undertake a mission to the Mohammedans in Palestine, or if not practicable there, then wherever the Pope might send them." Out of this developed the "Society of Jesus," whose first "General" was Ignatius Loyola. The members of the order were subjected to the absolute control of their Superior and held themselves ready to go at a moment's notice to any part of the world. The motto adopted by the Jesuits, "For the Greater Glory of God," stated an end which was supposed to sanctify any means which would contribute toward it. In 1542 this order was formally recognized by the Pope and speedily became one of the most powerful factors in the support of the papacy, in the rule of the Church and in the extension into new territory.

INDIA

One of the founders of the Society of Jesus was its first missionary to the East and one of the most notable missionaries in the history of the Roman Church, one whose fame is perpetuated by the use of his name to designate schools, churches, streets and business enterprises throughout the Catholic world. Probably no other name of a Catholic saint is so widely known as that of Francis Xavier. In 1540 he left, on one day's notice, for Goa in the Portuguese settlement of India. Here he began work which was extended later to Travancore on the opposite side of the peninsula. He was a restless soul with a great passion for the lost, whom he believed could be saved by the application of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. In the midst of perishing millions he could not take time even to learn the languages of the people, nor to provide the instruments and equipment of a permanent Christianity. He did not discount the importance of these, and earnestly pleaded for other missionaries who would provide them, as well as for helpers to extend his own methods of quick evangelism. He attracted a hearing by ringing bells in the streets and by other devices, gave elementary instruction and applied the holy water of baptism to many thousands of natives. On occasion he would assemble a crowd on the banks of a stream, enter with a brush from a tree, consecrate the water and pronounce the baptismal formula and "bap-

tize" the people on the bank wholesale. For three years he laboured in the Goa region and on into the Travancore section, and across the straits in the Jaffna Kingdom of Ceylon. He undertook to induce the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to intervene by force in Jaffna, first to avenge the slaughter of some who had been baptized, and second to set upon the throne a brother who pledged himself to become a Christian and lead all his subjects to baptism. This was all agreed upon, but intervening events prevented its execution. By 1545, notwithstanding amazing numerical results in baptisms and the fact that he had gained control for the Jesuits of the Portuguese schools in Goa and had full government backing, Xavier felt that the work was too slow. In a long letter to King John III. he elaborated a plan and pressed it with such force as to bring to the Viceroy a royal order: "That all idols shall be sought out and destroyed, and severe penalties shall be laid upon all such as shall dare to make an idol . . . or shall shelter or hide a Brahman." Special favours and concessions are to be made to the Christians "in order that the natives may be inclined to submit themselves to the yoke of Christianity." This did not go the full length of applying the inquisition sought by Xavier, but did thoroughly commit the official authority and finance to the promoting of what the King confessed to be the "most essential duty of a Christian prince, namely, attention to the interests of religion and the employment of one's active influence in maintaining the Catholic faith." Xavier sought to have "responsibility for the dissemination of Christianity" "in every case depend entirely upon the Viceroy or Governor," and that the continuance of any one in office be conditioned on satisfactory reports "concerning the number and quality" of their converts and the method employed to effect conversion.

For two or three years Xavier laboured in his hurried and superficial but most earnest way in Burma, Java, and on toward the Straits. In 1548-9 he was again in India for fifteen months. He writes to Loyola that the natives "can never be expected to embrace Christianity" freely. Without compulsion "we must . . . limit ourselves to retaining those who are already Christians." Even for this, coercion was invoked. He led in the efforts to persuade and compel the Syrian Christians to enter the Roman Church. In 1599 this was fully effected in Portuguese territory. After his two years' work inaugurating Catholic missions in Japan, this unremitting worker was again in India for a few months before setting out to try to press into China. He died at the door, on the island of Sanchan near Canton, in December, 1552. His body was returned for pompous burial in Goa. In 1922, part of a bone from one of his arms was taken to Spain and escorted by a commission headed by an Archbishop on a three months' tour of the major cities, to be received with great ecclesiastical, political and popular honour until it was deposited in a convent in Barcelona.

The mission inaugurated by Xavier was to the masses. A half century later, Robert de Nobili undertook the winning of India from the top. He not only learned the languages, studied the literature and sought an intelligent mastery of the life and thought of the people; he became a

social Brahmin, adopted Hindu forms of worship and adapted their ceremonies to the Roman forms, and aimed at winning by accepting the social caste system and dominating through the higher castes. This brought on a bitter controversy between the advocates of the two methods of missionary work. The Pope inclined to the approval of the simpler methods. De Nobili defended himself with vigorous reasoning and claimed that he was following the example of Paul in adapting himself to the opinions of the people and preaching to them "the unknown God." Both types of work succeeded, so far as gaining converts is proof of success. The conflicts were ultimately measurably reconciled or adjusted and Catholic Christianity was perpetuated in India. The Roman Church claimed to have a million members when Carey came to India, but it had sunk into such ineffectiveness as left it a doubtful influence until revived after 1822.

To these two quite distinct types of work we must add a third. It was a Jesuit mission to the Mohammedans. A chief representative was Geronimo, a nephew of Francis Xavier, who, in 1610, baptized three princes, while the Akbar was reported to reverence the images of Jesus and Mary. Xavier wrote, for his Moslem work, *Lives of Christ and Saint Peter*, and a discussion of Islam as a religion. Many thousands of converts even encouraged hope for a time that Christianity might supplant both Mohammedanism and Brahmanism.

Among the many martyr missionaries of this period was Xavier Borghese. When commanded to "refrain from mentioning the Holy Name" he said to the judge: "Think you that I left my country and all that was dear to me on earth, and came here to preach the law of the true God . . . only to keep silence now? I declare to you that . . . I will employ all that remains of me of life and power to make new disciples to the God of heaven." The judge, seeking to show that the converts would be lacking in courage, "ordered his soldiers to break the bones of one of his catechists," who called to his master: "Now I begin to be your disciple. Do not fear, dear father, that I shall do anything unworthy of a Christian."

The Abbé Dubois, who returned to France in 1823, after thirty-two years in south India, believed that missionary work had been a failure and would continue to fail.

THE PHILIPPINES

Magellan landed in the Philippines in 1521. Friendly relations were immediately established by a blood covenant with the king of the Island of Cebu. With great breadth of sympathy and insight, he invited the king and his subjects to become Christians, and offered that his accompanying priest would baptize them and that "he would return on a future day, and bring with him priests and monks to instruct them in all things belonging to our holy religion." He is said to have offered them no material advantage and to have assured them that no compulsion would be exerted to win them from the religion of their fathers. His historian concedes, however, that Magellan "did not disguise that those who should

become Christians would be more beloved and better dealt with." The outcome was that the king was baptized, along with certain other nobles, and plain people, all together five hundred. Next the queen accepted baptism and received an image of Mary and the infant Jesus to substitute her idols. She was christened with the name of Jane, after the mother of the Spanish Emperor, while the names of Catherine and Isabella were conferred upon other royal women. In this quick and dramatic fashion the first mission to the Philippines accomplished its work. In 1564 a new group of six missionaries, headed by Urdinaeta, were sent by Philip II., by way of Mexico, to continue the good work. They were attended by a regiment of four hundred soldiers! Thus Mexico became the base of operations between Spain and the Philippines. A trade route was opened up and numerous priests travelled with the emissaries of trade and empire, and built up in these islands a bulwark of the Catholic faith in the far Pacific, and soon made it the base for further missionary operations in China and Japan.

A NEW MISSIONARY ERA IN CHINA

The fascinating and romantic story of how the intrepid missionaries broke through the closed doors of China cannot be told here. A Chinese adventurer, one Li Ma Hong, in the pursuit of his piracies, attacked also "the New Christendom." Missionary monks took part in the preservation of the Spanish rule. This event brought them into friendly relationships with the leader of a Chinese expedition seeking to destroy Li Ma Hong. Even so, the missionaries were not able to win their way into China. Already, however, Albuquerque had learned that slaves of any nationality might be carried into China, and had sought to enter as the slave of a Chinese merchant captain, but was prohibited from undertaking it by the governor. In connection with the efforts to capture the pirate leader, certain missionaries secured permission to enter China, but were killed when the Spanish were unable to deliver the bandit to the Chinese officials. At the request of the governor of the Philippines, Philip sought to send an embassy to Peking, but found this impracticable. A special group of missionaries, destined for China by way of Mexico, met with various disasters, none of them even reaching Manila. In 1578 a Franciscan, Pedro de Alfaro, unable to secure the approval of the governor to defy the dangers and enter China at the head of fourteen volunteers, selected three and secretly got to Canton, but was not able to make any permanent beginning.

It was for the Jesuits, under the leadership of Matteo Ricci, to make a successful entrance. Beginning in South China, in 1583, he reached Peking in 1601. The engaging story is too long to be told here. It begins with Francis Xavier, whose failure to enter China is chargeable to politics and trade greed. An Italian, Alessandro Valignani, stopped at Macao, on his way officially to visit the Jesuit missions in Japan, about 1578, and became greatly concerned to open China. He called Ruggerius to Macao in 1579, and others, including Matteo Ricci, in 1582. They reached a few Chinese in Macao. In 1583 Ruggerius and Ricci succeeded in locating in Chaoching, then capital of Kwang-

tung. With great skill and patience Ricci slowly broke down the prejudice and got farther on toward the capital, and finally located there, in 1601.

The Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans continued their approach from the Philippine base, where also they were reaching immigrant Chinese. In the middle of the seventeenth century, French Jesuits entered with the backing of Louis XIV. In furthering this effort, there gradually developed the Société des Missions Étrangères, one of the major missionary organizations of the Roman Church.

The Portuguese at Macao claimed and demanded priority control over all approaches to China, and were at times defiant of even papal authority. This and the national jealousies, rivalries of the monastic orders, and radical differences over methods in dealing with Chinese social and religious customs, hindered the progress of the work and encouraged official suspicion and opposition. Ricci was something of a scientist, skilled in mathematics, and had some knowledge of astronomy. By using this knowledge, these Jesuits were able to get recognition and win favour at court, and thus to make way for their new period of missionary activity. When, in 1610, the Chinese astronomers and the foreigners differed in the predicted date of an eclipse of the moon, the moon adopted the schedule of the missionaries, which event established the missionaries in a position of great favour and opportunity. They made for the Emperor better maps than any previously known and ornamented them with Scripture texts and symbols. An official by the name of Seu, and his daughter, were baptized, and through their influence brought about the building of numerous churches in different provinces and otherwise promoted the Christian work. The new missionary campaign in China thus begun, continued for approximately one hundred and fifty years, during which time five hundred missionaries gave themselves to the service in China. Among them were men of great distinction. Adam Schall became the royal astronomer and was succeeded by Ferdinand Verbiest. These missionaries at the court were able to procure a large measure of freedom for operations in various directions in the empire. Some men of eminent position and a few with royal blood accepted the Christian faith.

The Jesuits made compromises with heathenism in their zeal for success. Conflicts arose between them, and the members of the Dominican and the Franciscan orders. With their growing numbers and prestige, some of the missionaries grew too bold in their efforts to influence the authorities. The increasing aggressiveness of the European empire builders, reaching out into the East, aroused apprehensions which were not allayed by the too self-confident missionaries from Europe. While relations were already strained, the Manchus displaced the Chinese rulers. It seemed now wise to the authorities to eliminate foreign influence. All missionaries and other foreigners were ordered to leave, Christianity was discredited and the Christians persecuted, and the doors of China were closed to all foreign residence. It was not possible, however, to stamp out the results of this campaign. Catholic Christianity continued in China under native leadership and with clandestine foreign supervision from time to time. After various examples of persecution, an Edict of Expulsion,

in 1736, was followed by organized general persecution in 1744. There were no aggressive efforts on the part of Chinese Catholics to extend their faith beyond the Christian families until the return of missionary leadership in the nineteenth century.

PLANTING THE CHURCH IN JAPAN

Xavier's entrance into Japan opened a missionary era extending from 1549 to 1637, during which the Catholic authorities claimed that they won as many as two million converts. Xavier had as his companion Cosme de Torres, who was a man of organizing ability and had gifts of leadership. He was able to carry forward the work in ways to make it permanent. He succeeded in winning two Buddhist monks soon after his work began. He baptized them under the names of Paul and Barnabas. Some of the feudal lords accepted Christianity. Especially in the Island of Kiu Shiu the missionaries gained a large following, and great influence in the city of Nagasaki, where a church was built in 1562. The missionaries even claimed that "there was hardly a person who was not a Christian." The daimio was too aggressive, seeking to destroy all idolatry, and provoked revolt. Missionaries came in from the Philippines, Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians. Converts were made and churches established on the main island, Hondo. The missionaries of the different orders came into conflict with each other here, as in India and in China. The Japanese were already jealous of their own superiority and importance. The Buddhist priests were naturally averse to propaganda in behalf of an alien faith, quite overlooking the fact that their own religion was an importation. Japanese territory had never been sufficient for more than their own people, and immigration was undesirable in any degree. The rulers were apprehensive of the growing extension of European imperialism in the Pacific. The missionaries were thoroughly European in their attitudes and habits of mind, and were known to be encouraged and patronized by European rulers. Some of them, with a foolish daring, when questioned about the ambitions of their sovereigns, boldly announced that they would occupy and possess territory even in Japan. All these considerations combined to precipitate a period of persecution which for severity, thoroughness and the numbers of martyrs probably more than matches the Roman persecutions of the Christians in the first century. The effort was made absolutely to exterminate the new religion, to drive out all foreigners and forever to secure the Japanese realm from pernicious, alien influences. A proclamation was issued and posted through the empire to the effect that: "So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the great God of all, if he violates this command, shall pay the forfeit with his head."

The instruction of the converts was at best very inadequate. It is but natural that they reverted, outwardly at least, to their old faith. Thirty-seven thousand are said to have been slain. In the final round-up the Christians were herded and driven over the precipice into the sea at Nagasaki. All foreigners were absolutely prohibited from entrance into

Japan, foreign trade was restricted to the smallest proportions, to be conducted exclusively through a Dutch trading port on a small island near Nagasaki; and to insure that no contaminating foreign influence would invade, it was decreed that any Japanese who by accident of shipwreck or otherwise should ever reach foreign territory, must forever remain outside his native land. In secret, Christianity was perpetuated through the two centuries of closed doors. Many thousands of Japanese identified themselves openly with the Catholic Church immediately on the modern freedom. Native Christians built an enormous church building in Nagasaki in the years following 1873.

Within this period the Church undertook missions in Syria and Persia, but they were limited almost wholly to winning Greek Orthodox, Nestorian and Armenian Christians and other minor Christian sects. While they won some proselytes, it always involved concessions to their customs and compromise in creed or liturgy. The main effect was the weakening of these other churches, without either reforming them or completely absorbing them. Along the African coasts many were baptized, but few were indoctrinated or brought to a worthy understanding of Christianity.

This widespread and in some ways remarkably successful campaign of Catholic missions must reluctantly be adjudged as in large measure a spiritual failure. The faith was presented too much as an external and ceremonial system, rather than as a regenerative and vital force in the lives of individuals and in the social organism. It was too much in the nature of an exchange of religions, and Christianity was not made a truly progressive force in the life of the people which should ever lead on to constructive growth in civilization and culture. Numbers were procured at the price of corrupting compromises with heathenism. The indistinguishable connection of the missionary movement with commercial aggrandizement and political expansion made it impossible for the average native in mission lands to see that the immoral and inhuman behaviour of the European "Christians" was not a part of the new religion which they were invited or compelled to accept. The Christianity which came to them was often morally revolting to the consciences of the more advanced in spiritual insight. The banishment of missionaries from Japan and China and the organized suppression of the religion brought definite check to its growth. The rivalries of the priestly orders produced frictions and antagonisms within the Christian following and made unfavourable impression on the heathen. The divergencies of method contributed to the confusion of mind and lessened the attractiveness of the missionary religion. Everywhere these missions failed to give the people the Scriptures in their own languages. It was quite impossible for a religion to become indigenous whose Bible and much of whose worship was in a language foreign not alone to the worshippers, but even to their priests and missionary leaders. Christianity was not really planted as a living factor, native to the soil, in any land except where that land was itself taken over by immigrant colonists who became the dominating factor in the social and political organism, and where by racial amalgamation they also gave racial character to the population.

III. PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN THE FOURTH PERIOD

How the Protestants were ultimately led into the taking up of missions as a distinct Christian enterprise and the different churches to take them up officially we shall have to consider in the next chapter. Here we have to consider the work as it was actually undertaken and carried forward during this period.

First of all we come upon a series of what may well be called Colonial Missions. These were in connection with the colonies as they began to be established by the different Protestant countries. For the most part they were at first more or less undesignated ministries to the heathen on the part of ministers who were provided not for the heathen, but for the colonists. They have something of a political character and relationship. They are also sometimes intimately identified with commercial enterprises and trading companies. There is a rather gradual transition into undertakings more or less distinctly missionary and with more definitely spiritual motives inspiring them.

The earliest of the colonial attempts proved abortive, but is of interest because of being the first. Durand Villegaignon professed the Protestant faith and led a French colony to Brazil, in 1555, to form a base for evangelical missionary operations in South America. He had the patronage of a powerful Protestant Admiral, Coligny, and the support of Calvin. After reaching Brazil, and before the work was well started, he returned to the Catholic Church and destroyed the colony. French Protestants undertook no other enterprise until the more modern era.

Gustavus Vasa, of Sweden, undertook to have the Lapps evangelized, in 1559, by sending preachers along with the state representatives who went to regulate political affairs and collect taxes. Similar work was fostered among their subjects by Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus. None of this work was ever truly evangelical, and naturally was not effective, until Thomas von Westen, about 1710, entered upon the work as a real missionary. He died in 1727 and had no successors until after the middle of the nineteenth century.

EXTENSIVE DUTCH MISSIONS

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch were entering vigorously on a colonial career. Colonial and foreign trade was concentrated under the control of the Dutch East India Company, in 1602, and the Dutch West India Company, in 1621. The East India Company was required by its charter "to care for the planting of the Church and the conversion of the heathen" in the possessions in the East Indies, which the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese. The clergy sent to minister to the colonists were at first the only missionaries. In 1622 a "Seminarium Indicum" was founded in connection with the University of Leyden for training ministers and missionaries for the colonies. This was a fine beginning, and promised intelligent and aggressive progress, but the seminary was discontinued after a dozen years, on the ground that the students were too thoroughly trained in the missionary spirit, so that they gave too much attention to the heathen, and because the

worldly merchants who directed the company were unwilling to provide the funds for its maintenance, and they had been charged with this. Batavia, in Java, became the official capital and centre of the entire Dutch East Indies, and consequently the centre of missionary operations extending into parts of Malaysia and as far as Formosa. The entire Bible was translated into Malay and Singhalese, and parts of the New Testament into Formosan. Schools were established in the different colonies for the training of native workers. In spite of all this scientific procedure in the home provisions, most of the work among the heathen was superficial and was conducted on wrong principles when it came to details. It was always involved with politics and with commercial development. Colonial clergy were allowed to increase their income beyond their small salaries by a per capita payment for natives baptized. This furnished an artificial stimulus to counting converts which, at least in some cases, worked to the detriment of solid spiritual Christian founding.

In Java and the smaller adjacent island of Amboyna the greatest number of converts were won. Justus Heurnius was one of the earliest and most able and devoted of the missionaries. Son of a medical professor, and with a most liberal education, he studied theology and would have gone to India as a missionary but that the trading companies of both his own country and England at that time opposed missions in their territory. He was a vigorous advocate of missions, publishing a book for that purpose in 1618. In 1624 he went to Batavia and went to work at once among Malays and Chinese. Besides doing literary work, he was a devoted evangelist. Because he sought to have the Church on the mission field freed from the control of the East India Company, he was thrown into prison. Later he took up work on Amboyna. Here he came in contact with Mohammedan missionaries, who are charged with having poisoned his food and left him with infirmities from which he never wholly recovered. After returning to Holland, he continued extensive literary work for use by the missionaries. A hundred thousand nominal converts were claimed in Java. In Amboyna they were relatively even more numerous.

The Dutch took possession of Ceylon in 1658, robbing the Portuguese, as elsewhere in the East. Here they founded schools, translated the Scriptures and made other contributions to literature and general culture. In the matter of converts, they made the holding of office and the possession of lands dependent on acceptance of baptism and the Calvinistic confession. Missionary work was extended to Sumatra and to several groups of islands. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century more than four hundred thousand members were claimed for the Dutch churches in the East Indies. Many converts had been won from Mohammedans as well as from pagans. It has to be confessed, however, that the work was so superficial that the Mohammedans found it easy to revert to their former faith when political pressure was removed and material inducements no longer held them. And there is probably some ground for the bitter charge that the transfer of primitive peoples from paganism to Roman Catholicism under Portuguese domination, and thence to Pres-

byterianism under Dutch control served only to make "bad Roman Catholics" out of "blind idolaters," and later to convert them into "worse Protestants."

The Dutch occupied Formosa from 1624 until 1661, when they were driven out by the Chinese. Here they conducted vigorous missionary work which enlisted two or three men of exceptional ability. They adopted methods which ought to have left permanent results. Besides learning the language thoroughly and instructing their converts in the Christian faith, they trained native workers and undertook to provide schools for all the Christians. They made translations and produced the beginnings of a Christian literature. Yet the missionaries usually remained only a short time in the island, only two serving as much as a dozen years. With the expulsion of the Dutch by the Chinese, Protestant Christianity was largely destroyed and dissipated in the island.

In the West Indies the Dutch had a colony in Pernambuco where the governor-general, Johann Moritz, brought eight missionary preachers and began some genuine missionary work along wise lines which might have produced effective results; but the Dutch found it too costly to seek to withstand the Portuguese and gave up the colony in 1667. From the Court of Gotha embassaries were sent to Persia and to Abyssinia, in 1663, with the view to establishing relations with these countries and with evangelical missions particularly in mind, but no good results followed.

DANISH COLONIAL MISSIONS

Next in order are the colonial missions in Denmark. The king, Frederick IV., in 1705, asked Luetkins, his court preacher, to procure missionaries for the colonies, as two previous efforts in this direction had failed. Luetkins went to his Pietistic friends, Lange at Berlin and Francke at Halle. In this way there arose what is known as the Danish-Halle mission, so called because it was promoted and supported by the Danish government while the missionaries came from the University of Halle. It is also frequently known as the Danish-Tamil mission, after the name of the principal Indian peoples reached by the mission. Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were the first two of a line of splendid workers who went out to India and conducted a work which continued for one hundred and twenty years, when it was turned over to the Leipzig Society. From 1714 missionaries were trained in a college set up for this purpose at Copenhagen. These missionaries gave themselves to the most earnest and intelligent propagation and establishment of the Gospel, and were able to claim forty thousand converts. The greatest name connected with this mission is Christian Frederick Schwartz, a man of prodigious energy, enduring physique, trained and comprehensive mind, singular devotion and unflinching skill and tact. He laboured from various centres, Tranquebar (1750-65), Trichinopoly (1765-77), Tanjore (1777-99) and Tinnevely. He served the British as a chaplain and used his salary to build an orphanage, and enlisted funds for the support of his work. He won the confidence of British, Dutch and native authorities, and was of very great

service in mediating between natives and foreigners. Over his grave there was inscribed a noble tribute: "His native vivacity won the affection, as his unspotted probity and purity of life alike commanded the reverence of Christian, Mohammedan and Hindu. The very marble that here records his virtues was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the Rajah of Tanjore, Maha Rajah Serfogee."

THE BRITISH COLONIES

The British entered upon their colonial career in the sixteenth century. In both east and west some chaplains to the colonists took interest in natives and made some converts. Theoretically the colonization movement was supposed to include efforts to Christianize the natives. The charter of the Massachusetts Company, 1628, provided that they were to "win and incite the natives . . . to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith." The official seal of the company bore an Indian supplicating the white settler, "Come over and help us." The practical relations between colonists and natives developed an attitude for the most part far from missionary. While some work was done by clergy and laymen in various colonies, this was by no means the uniform and consistent procedure. The work of evangelization in connection with British colonies was done largely on the initiative of zealous Christian men and by support of means procured apart from political and commercial movements, and often with the discouragement and opposition of the secular organizations. Missionary work directly associated with secular movements in this period largely failed of support with the rise of rationalism in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and furnished abundant proof to all who would seriously consider it, that the extension of Christianity cannot hope for success in any such combination. The way was prepared, however, for the rising tide of missionary conviction to bear onward the work as a distinctly Christian undertaking.

MORE DEFINITELY MISSIONARY UNDERTAKINGS

More distinctly missionary undertakings in this period will include some of the colonial missions which were gradually transferred to Christian organizations. They include also some purely tentative efforts which failed objectively but did serve as inspiration and example for Christian people in the face of a compelling opportunity among new peoples.

Hugo Grotius, one of the outstanding Dutch statesmen, was also a theologian and a devoted Christian leader. While engaged as minister to France he influenced some young men from Lubeck, who were students in Paris, to commit themselves "to awaken the lapsed churches in the East to new evangelical life," 1634. The only tangible outcome was that produced by Peter Heiling who, after spending two years in Egypt, went on for a ministry of twenty years in Abyssinia. He translated the New Testament, married into the royal family, and exercised some influence for more evangelical Christianity, but finally suffered martyrdom. He was hindered in his efforts by the Jesuit missionaries, and no efforts were made to continue his work.

We must mention here the Austrian Baron von Wetz, whose vigorous efforts to stimulate distinctly Christian missions in Germany we shall outline in the next chapter, who at length undertook personal missionary labours on his own initiative and support in Dutch Guiana. His labours continued for only a year or two until he died in the jungles, about 1675. The Walloon Synod undertook definitely to provide for the Dutch colonies in America clergymen who would be qualified also for missionary service. The Synod undertook to provide missionary literature and to pay part of the salaries in consideration of the ministers' labours among the Indians, the burden of financial support being provided, of course, by the corporation.

In connection with the English colonies in America, Roger Williams has the distinction of being the first to learn to speak well the language of the natives and to work with success for their conversion. As is well known, he was forced out of the Massachusetts Colony because of his independent views concerning religion and the Church, which views he probably did not take pains to present in a way to avoid personal resentments. In his own Rhode Island region he became greatly interested in the Indians. On returning to England, after twelve years in America, 1643, he published a volume of more than two hundred pages, which he called "A Key into the Language of America: or An help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New England, Together with brief Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worships &c of the aforesaid Natives." After the frequent custom of the day, the title page is filled out with much more, descriptive of the object of the book. He felt that for want of knowledge of the language, customs and ideas of the natives he and others had "run into" many "grosse mistakes." He hopes that by the use of this "Key" "it may please the *Father of Mercies* to spread *civiltie* (and in his own most holy season) *Christianitie* for one Candle will light *ten thousand*, it may please God to blesse a little *Leaven* to season the *mightie* Lump of those Peoples and Territories." He "touches upon foure Heads": "First, by what *Names* they are distinguished. Secondly, Their *Originall* and *Descent*. Thirdly, their *Religion*, *Manners*, *Customs*, &c. Fourthly, That great *Point* of their *Conversion*." When Williams returned to America with official recognition of his colony he brought also a letter to the Massachusetts colony giving as a reason for his recognition his great interest in the Indians. This seemed directly to stimulate activity on the part of the older colony, which proceeded to empower its courts to "take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." This action was the occasion for the first employment of John Eliot, most noted of New England missionaries to the Indians. Williams' extensive correspondence reveals his profound concern for the salvation of the Indians. He published a second work concerning this, which is lost. He spent six years living in the midst of the Indians. No man surpassed him in intelligent devotion to Christianizing them, and his interest continued throughout his life.

In the same year, 1631, in which Williams first came to America, came

also the young iron worker, John Eliot, who became pastor at Roxbury and the first official missionary of the colony to the Indians. His earlier labours were merely an extension of his pastoral work which he continued, not without opposition on the part of some of his parishioners, who objected to his devoting time to the Indians which they claimed should be expended upon themselves. His work aroused interest in England, which resulted in the formation of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," 1649, under which Eliot continued his activities, and other missionaries were supported. He translated the Bible, published a grammar, organized his converts. Finding it impossible to develop Indian Christians satisfactorily in association with the unsettled tribes, he adopted the method of establishing Christian villages, locating as many as thirteen. These "Praying-Towns" were developed in other missions also.

These beginnings inaugurated an extensive movement of Indian missions associated with the English colonies. Five generations of Mayhews carried on work on Martha's Vineyard, where Thomas Mayhew, Sr., was proprietor and governor and where, about 1670, the native communicants numbered three thousand.

Among those who devoted themselves with conviction and ability to evangelization and to the education of the Indians first mention should be made of Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard College. He had already distinguished himself by his labours among them and by his insistence that they must be evangelized and instructed in their own language. On coming into the presidency, he brought it about that a new charter should provide that Harvard would undertake "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness." In the face of strong opposition he insisted that the institution should be "both a mission school and a missionary training school." This aggressive mission policy may have played a part in his ejection from the headship of Harvard, along with his Baptist resistance to the christening of his children.

John Sergeant opened a school for Indians in Stockbridge which had the support of men of various denominations, both in the colonies and in England. In fifteen years one hundred and twenty-nine Indians had been baptized in connection with his work. Jonathan Edwards, America's greatest theologian, philosopher and educator, spent six years at the head of this same school before taking up his presidency of Princeton. He had been reared at Stockbridge and had "constantly associated with the Indians from infancy." It was his father's ambition that Jonathan should devote his life to missionary work, and to this end he had sent him, when only ten years old, into the forest with an Indian missionary, to learn the language. Sergeant's son, John, Jr., entered later upon the same work and continued it for forty-nine years at New Stockbridge, in New York.

Eleazar Wheelock, in 1743, yielded to the plea of an Indian widow to take her son as a student in a private school which he was conducting at Lebanon, Connecticut. Out of this grew a missionary training school, removed after twenty-seven years to Hanover, New Hampshire, and later developing into Dartmouth College. This first orphan Indian pupil was

Samson Occum. He became an outstanding native missionary, of whom a full biography was written. On a tour of Great Britain, Occum procured fifty thousand dollars for the support of his work. He continued his labours in various regions, from 1776 at a settlement in which migrating Indians from different regions were combined under the name of Brotherton, in western New York.

David Brainerd is one of the best known of all workers among the Indians and his diary, edited by Jonathan Edwards, has been one of the most powerful influences leading young men to volunteer for foreign missions ever since, especially during the first thirty years of the Student Volunteer Movement. He had an abnormal, introspective pietism, which expressed itself in a passion for the salvation of the Indians and of all the heathen world, in a zeal so burning as to be almost incomprehensible to most present-day Christians. He was to have married Edwards' daughter; but, afflicted with tuberculosis in a day when its successful treatment was unknown, he exposed himself to the hardships and rigours of life in the forest with the Indians, and died at twenty-nine. He influenced William Carey, and it was the reading of his life that decided Henry Martyn to give himself to missionary work. Other English and colonial missionaries, although numerous and devoted, must be omitted from personal mention.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS

The missionary enterprise of this period, which is most freely and originally such, is that of the Moravians. Nicholas Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, came to study with Francke, at Halle, while still only a lad. An orphan, he was reared by his grandmother and two aunts, all deeply devoted to the Pietistic way. He met in this home, from his earliest childhood, the great leaders of that movement, and responded to their influence with a precocious piety. It is claimed that even from the age of four he manifested the deepest religious interest. Yet he developed a strong, vigorous, intelligent and balanced religious leadership, sustained by a splendid physique. Of the nobility, he was destined for a political career and educated in politics and the law. Still his interests were always primarily in religion, and without formal permission he studied theology. It will be remembered that missionaries were drawn from Halle for the Danish Colonial missions. The young Count not only met missionaries but also got acquainted with refugees from the persecutions of Protestants in various parts of Europe, who found a haven in Halle. At the age of fifteen, he united with other students to form an "order" whose "unwearied labour shall go through all the world, in order that we may win hearts to Him Who gave His life for our souls." With his position in society and state, he could not himself expect to be a missionary. With another young nobleman, Frederick von Watteville, he entered upon a compact "for the conversion of the heathen, and of such as no one else would go to, by instruments to whom God would direct them." Two of the principles which he early enunciated are, expressed in his own terms: "I have but one passion, it is He, He only;" "I know no Christianity with-

out fellowship." Ludwig's grandfather had been driven out of Austria on account of his evangelical faith. He was especially prepared, therefore, to sympathize with the persecuted Moravians when, on the occasion of his marriage, he met a commission of these "Brethren" seeking a location to which they might lead a group who were ordered into exile. The Count invited them to locate on his Berthelsdorf estate, where they set up their Herrnhut in 1722. He took the greatest interest in them and gave them the benefit of his genius for organization, so that they were reorganized as the *Unitas Fratrum*, and under his leadership became the most distinctly missionary "church" since the days of the apostles. In 1728, in a prayer-meeting under the lead of Zinzendorf, they determined to begin work in "distant lands" at the first opportunity. They were considering Turkey, Morocco, Greenland and Lapland. No opportunity quickly offered. In 1731 the Count, along with three of the Brethren, met in Copenhagen a West Indian negro and two Greenlanders. Conversations with these led to decision for immediate work, so soon as volunteers could be found. Soon Tobias Leupold and Leonard Dober, labourers, met one morning; and after exchange of greeting developed the fact that each separately had spent the entire night in prayer and had dedicated himself to the foreign mission service so soon as God would find him a fellow. In the course of events, Leupold was unable to go. David Nitzschmann then volunteered. Shortly these two were on their way to the West Indies, to be followed two years later by a large company. Zinzendorf visited the missionaries on the Island of St. Thomas, in 1739, and was thrilled with his observations. Thus the Moravians were led into undertakings in widely scattered parts of the world; Persia, China, Ceylon, the East Indies, Constantinople, Wallacia, Caucasus, Egypt, Samoa, all of which were later suspended. In the West Indies, Greenland, Surinam, South Africa, among American Indians, in Australia and elsewhere they became effective and their results permanent. It is obvious that too much was undertaken; their zeal was not always tempered with knowledge, their methods were not always the wisest. It was their policy to undertake work where no one had previously gone and where others were not likely to go. This led them out of the way of the peoples who were making history, and prevented their becoming a large factor in modern progress. They were able to occupy so many places because their missions were conducted on the principle of sacrificial devotion, moderate living and, as far as possible, self-supporting missions. Their mission stations developed various arts and activities for meeting expenses. Zinzendorf died in 1760, but only after giving permanent missionary character and projection to the Brotherhood. The Moravian has never become a large denominational church, for the reasons that within Christendom it has never wished to gain proselytes from any other church; and its mission work has been in regions where a great following was impossible. They have been a great influence in arousing missionary interest and leading the way to missionary endeavour on the part of the larger denominations. In America, they located with permanent projection of their people and influence, especially in North Carolina (Salem) and in western Pennsylvania. As

would be expected, they entered vigorously upon missionary work among the Indians. Their most outstanding missionary in America was David Zeisberger. A man of robust body, untiring energy and unremitting zeal, he laboured from 1745 to 1808, and opened twenty-seven stations in Pennsylvania and Ohio, in which numerous other missionaries were engaged. It is well said that: "For length of service, for purity and singleness of aim and for actual effectiveness no other missionary career in North America approaches that of David Zeisberger."

While the earliest work in Greenland might be included as a part of the Danish Colonial missionary work, its great missionary hero, Hans Egede, and his son Paul deserve to be classed with the most genuine missionaries. No other motive prompted them to the terrific sacrifices and hardships involved in largely unfruitful labours among these low-grade natives and the all too worldly traders. Hans had to give up the work after years of hardship, but was responsible for a training school at home where missionaries were prepared. The Danish government was on the point of abandoning the effort when the Moravian brethren came to the rescue. Matthew and Christian Stach were the first of six generations of missionaries of that name who, along with Christian David, began the work in Greenland, in 1733. Others followed, including Matthew's mother and two sisters. By 1748 the "New Herrnhut" had one hundred and thirty members and began adding new stations. The work extended into Labrador, where Jens Haven was the pioneer and John Sörenson laboured with great ability and left the tribes of his particular mission all converted, 1793. The Danes also opened the way for missionary work in Northeast India, but did not actually undertake it, and the beginnings belong to British missionaries in the next period.

We have found it possible to record extensive work and achievements which, although limited and disappointing, are still considerable and sometimes notable. Yet this period must, after all, be valued chiefly for its preparation of the Christian Church definitely to undertake a campaign of more truly evangelical missionary effort. We turn, therefore, now to the consideration of the factors and influences which combined to educate Christendom into the consciousness of their responsibility and to bring about the acceptance of the duty of evangelizing the non-Christian world.

X

PREPARATION FOR THE MODERN EVANGELICAL ERA

MISSIONS are an enterprise of God. His providential control of the world prepares the way for the spiritual task which He assigns to the followers of His Son. The Christian movement is a part of the general movement of history. The modern missionary era is intimately related to, and inter-related with, the modern expansion of Christendom and with the impact of Western trade, politics and culture on the life, culture and religions of Africa and the Orient. The modern period in missions is more similar in spirit, methods and achievements to the first period than are any of the intervening periods. It would be easy to trace a certain parallelism between the preparation for the coming of the Christ and the inauguration of the first evangelical period and the preparation along various lines for our modern period. Just as the previous history of Israel and the four hundred years in the Græco-Roman world constituted a well recognized preparation for the inauguration of the campaign of a world-wide Gospel by Jesus Christ, so also the previous history of Christianity and the world movements of the three hundred years preceding the work of William Carey led up to "the fullness of the times" for the modern campaign of world-wide evangelical missions. We may think of this providential preparation especially along three lines: First, preparation of the world to receive the Gospel; second, preparation of the Church to give the Gospel to the world; third, the development of means for bringing the Church to the world with the Gospel. All three lines of preparation are continuous and in the nature of the case always incomplete. They interact and become cumulative in their effects. We shall, in this chapter, be thinking particularly of the process by which the Protestant, and other evangelical, churches came into their missionary undertakings.

I. PREPARATION OF THE WORLD

The process and the revelations of modern history have increasingly brought into clearness the fact of man's religious nature and religious need. That need cannot be obviated. The contacts between Europe and Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries increasingly impressed this need upon the consciousness of Christendom, gradually awakening the Christian conscience to its responsibility. While the tests which are being applied to the religions of mankind are widely different in the present century from what they were two centuries ago, or even one century ago, it is equally true that the religions of mankind are still a proof of man's religious nature and need. Modern scientific study of religion and religions has not at all modified the basal conclusions of the previous

age concerning the religious nature of mankind, but has greatly heightened the sense of the importance that all men shall have the best in religion. The forms which our reasoning takes have changed, and the sentiments with which we view religions other than our own have been modified. Yet it remains true that the interaction of the world's cultures upon each other shows the inevitable relation of religion to human nature and life, and calls for the apostolic attitude of sharing with all others the highest gifts of God to any group of men. With the modern development in all parts of the world the inadequacies of religions which are sectional and sectarian become more and more evident. The sense of need is developed in all those who have sought satisfaction in religions which may once have seemed peculiarly appropriate for less developed stages of life. A hungering and thirsting after something better is awakened in the hearts of men; and they will welcome any who come to them as prophets and messengers of God, provided they do not come in the guise of mere propagandists of a rival system nor with any mark of racial pride.

Nature religion had left men in animism, with its demonolatry and savagery. Pantheism had done its best on a wide scale through the Brahmanic faith, and had issued in Hinduism with its superstitions and base practices, which not all its high philosophy had prevented or was in any measure correcting. It had been able to produce an India which, with its two hundred millions of population when the modern era opened, was the easy prey to foreign occupation and control. Buddhism, through two millenniums, had tested out a practical pessimism based on a theoretical atheism. The mass outcome was the grossest idolatry; and in all countries where Buddhism had played a part its inadequacy was confessed by its combination with other religions in the effort to eke out an answer to the religious needs of the people, which were not fully met in any of the faiths. Confucianism had based itself on the assumption that human nature is good and needs only to be enlightened. It had made trial, on the most extensive scale, of human culture under the inspiration of a powerful social ideal. The outcome was the most numerous nation on earth with ninety-five percent of its people illiterate and the nation helpless in the face of the impacts of progress. Within Christendom the Renaissance movement turned many to natural religion in reaction against the dominant Christianity, which did not satisfy the new knowledge and antagonized its progress. This turn produced the Age of Reason, with the dearth of Illuminism, just as a similar sceptical movement had produced similar results in the days of the decadence of Greece and Rome. Whether one looked upon the awakened and progressive world outside the Church, or upon conditions within the Church, it was increasingly evident that the times were ripe for a Gospel. The message of the formalized Church did not challenge the world eager for a new life.

For those who had eyes to see, and who turned their attention to the religious facts of the world, it was clear that man is unable to hold and develop revealed religion except when and as he recognizes the immediate presence and power of God operating in his life, maintaining his religion

and adjusting it to the growing life which the divine presence produces in human experience. The Jews had relied upon transcendent monotheism. The answer was found in a nation destroyed for accumulating centuries and a people scattered among the nations. They were a people with a great expectation, but without any sense of power operating within themselves to achieve their goal or to realize the ideals of their religion. Mohammedanism had wrought with a narrow interpretation of an unapproachable God. It had been able to produce a certain degree of culture and to attract to its following men who had known nothing better than animisms and idolatries. It had built up a great empire and had elevated all the people who accepted its doctrines and its way of life. By the thirteenth century it had reached the climax of its progress and came into a permanent stage of arrested development beyond which it has manifested no capacity to reach. In all fairness, it must be said that the best the Religion of the Prophet had been able to do left men still under cruel despotism, ethical incompetency, stagnant civilization and religious fanaticism. The Roman Catholic Church had substituted an authoritative ecclesiastical system for a present, living Christ, and had removed the Holy Spirit from vital control within the Christian body. The result was traditionalism, dogmatism, formalism which were helpless for deliverance from the inertia of "The Dark Ages." Indeed, the Church was so bound with its own chains as to make it a hindrance to the forces, not its own, which would deliver men from the evils and superstitions of the age. Greek Catholicism had so far identified itself with military despotism in ruling over a mass of superstitious ignorance as to deprive it both of the capacity for inward renewal and of the impulse to expansion. The Eastern sectarian churches had so long suffered repression by dominating political powers affiliated with non-Christian religions that they had lost vision, hope and the sense of divine calling.

"The times of this ignorance God overlooked," while men sought out many inventions and proved their own helplessness apart from the energy of the living God. Meantime He was preparing a new gospel age wherein "he now commandeth men that they shall all everywhere repent in view of the righteous judgment" of Jesus Christ, Who was also bringing a pure Gospel again from the grave of rationalism and formalism to be the power of God unto salvation for all the world.

The extensive missions of the Roman Catholic Church in this period had in some measure acquainted the non-Christian world with the fact of Christianity and with some of its outstanding facts. Protestant missions had in their measure carried on this same preparation. Various parts of the world were getting to know of the other parts and were realizing that human nature and its needs are at least similar the world around. Commercial intercourse tended to break down the barriers between races and tribes. Later, to be sure, as the more backward nations became conscious of their rights and of their potential position, racial barriers would be reconstructed, and out of even stronger material. A new movement to remove these barriers would become necessary. By the eighteenth century the heathen peoples were beginning to recognize

that some things of importance could be had from others. There were the beginnings of fraternal interchange of ideas as well as of material goods. Here again a later century would develop movements of resistance, and a better understanding of the relations between men would have to prepare the way for a larger exchange of values between the different races of the one human race. The world was at least prepared for extensive beginnings of a Christian missionary movement which might come to envisage for itself a goal nothing short of "making the world Christian."

II. PREPARATION OF THE CHURCH

It would be unfair to judge Protestantism in its earlier stages by the standards which it developed for itself in later centuries. We have seen something of the general European conditions in which it arose and which of necessity conditioned its progress. These conditions were determinative against the churches gaining any world view, or feeling any passion for universal expansion, or being driven by any pressing conviction of race-wide obligation. The new-born movement must first grow into self-consciousness and have time for self-adjustment. There is a close analogy in the history of social movements and individual life forms. A period of self-realization must come first. Functioning in relationships to others can only follow later. What is the sad fact in movements and individuals is that the period and process of self-realization is apt to be unduly prolonged and to become a habit of character. Thereby the meaning of life is lost for movement or for individual man. One must first get to know himself as a fact. But unless this shall lead on to dedication of oneself as a factor in society, then the reason for his existence is largely if not wholly defeated and lost. So of movements. Protestantism could become a powerful factor in world changes only when it had won its place, in its own consciousness and in the recognition of other social organisms, as a definite and legitimate fact in the order of life in the world. It grew into its obligations, at first unconsciously, as is natural; and then by tentative efforts and enlarging experiences of success and of failure. With progressive awakening came also progressive effort to meet the responsibilities, only the progress was painfully slow and was too much resisted. It is true of movements, as of men, that the assertion of immature selfhood not only hinders the truest self-expression, but delays the maturing of the self, the achieving of true selfhood. The first and long the pressing need of the Protestant movement was winning its right to exist. It had to gain its spiritual, ecclesiastical and political freedom from the Roman Church and its influences, a freedom still far from complete, possibly not to be completed save in that larger freedom of the religious soul and life from all forms, as such, that hinder the full expression of the meaning of religion. But the problem of freedom was at first very real, and very urgent. And the sense of freedom was a condition of feeling and accepting world-wide responsibility. The new movement, and the new churches in which it took form, must first of all discover, then acquire, then in some measure realize the functions and organs of the spiritual life which was taking form in them.

Protestantism could have no message for mankind until it had determined what its own faith might be. For the movement began under the impulse of basal principles and with no defined creeds. Creeds it did develop, too many and too elaborate and too dogmatic and, so, too divisive. Yet a period largely devoted to definition of the faith of the Reformation was inevitable. This definition was wrought out through a long period of discussion, controversy and polemics. The best that was gained by the process was a series of forms of life and doctrine and worship that came, in time, to recognize and respect each other as parts of the same life and movement, but each still to insist that all others were immature expressions of a life that must come to fullness in the specific forms which it had found. It must remain for a later age to reinterpret the situation and the history on another principle. The point here is that this age of finding itself through controversy was both unfavourable to any missionary activity, and was antagonistic to any such idea when it was suggested. And some definition of the main experiences and beliefs of religion is absolutely required to constitute a Gospel for others.

LINES OF INDIRECT PREPARATION

In the plan of the Christ, the individual is the unit in salvation and in service. That is the very genius of Christianity. The individual had largely been submerged and lost in the hierarchical system of Rome, just as the individual had never come into definite consciousness in the feudal economic organization of Europe and in the social conceptions of the Middle Ages. The Reformation marks the rediscovery of the individual. That is its chief characteristic. Only we have to remind ourselves that the rediscovery of the individual in the historic process is for each man an initial discovery, and sets before him the task of his entire making as a unit in life and in the social organization of life. When discovered, the individual has to be awakened, emancipated, educated, socialized. Only as this complicated process goes on can he be stirred to project himself into the world as a factor for fulfilling its life. Missions is peculiarly an individualistic enterprise; must be so in the very nature of the case. All pioneer work must be individualistic, whether one thinks in terms of physical frontiers to be pushed back, or thought and life extensions to be adventured. It was a long and complicated process to get this individual awake and going, even sufficiently to begin revolutions in the social, economic, political and religious life of men. And these revolutions had in great measure to move together. The English Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution are only the more exalted markers that line the whole path of progress toward a new order of world life. New signal lights of this urge of the divine right of man, and of each individual man, are being erected in our own generation, in China, in India, and it may be even in the lands that first erected the older standards and then failed to follow their direction.

In this period we are in the midst of a new reverence for individual personality, a new assertion of individualism. This new individualism

comes forward in the face of opposing mass life and meets such repressive and established habit of domination that it is a struggle both bitter, and difficult for those in the midst of it to understand.

The sense of brotherhood cannot precede individualism, but it must follow it in the measure that the individual gains his freedom and interprets its meaning. We witness, therefore, in this period the rise of this sense of brotherhood following on the heels of the growing rights of man. The first Protestant orphanage was instituted by Francke at Halle, in 1698. John Howard was the voice of the movement for Prison Reform in the eighteenth century, and just behind him and his growing following came Clarkson and Wilberforce with a crusade against slavery, that would grow in volume and conviction until slavery had been abolished within Christendom and was on the way to abolition throughout the world. The human movement expressed itself again in the Sunday Schools that began under Fox, Raikes and others. This was not, of course, to begin with a religious education scheme at all, but was purely in the interest of destitute and neglected children. The whole movement toward democracy and the rights of man, as advocated in England by Pitt and Burke, was an expression of the growing sense of human worth with its positive grounding in the sense of brotherhood.

The most unselfish and perfect form of humanitarianism was the missionary movement which arose along with these other expressions of humanitarian interest and obligation. It came at the end of the eighteenth century to definite organization on a distinctively Christian basis, supported by the divine imperative of "the Great Commission" of the Christ. The restoration of the Christian Scriptures to the laity, and to men in general, with the privilege of reading them and with the right of private interpretation, all enforced by the duty of direct contact with God as the source of religion, brought men face to face with the missionary programme and commissions of Jesus, and with the missionary activities of the early Christians. By degrees this reading of the Bible linked up with the influences that were gradually widening the horizon for thinking Christians, and raised the question of the duty of resuming the work of propagating the faith and extending it to all the world for the salvation of all men. This interpretation of religion and duty moved slowly in the minds of men, preoccupied, as we have seen, with the demands for meeting immediate and pressing problems of a new form of their religion that was struggling with its own self-interpretation and with defense of its right to be. But in the end the word of the Scriptures became determinative with the consciences of Christians.

Still, by the time Protestantism has won its independence and its position as a fact in the life of Europe and America, that formalizing and rationalizing influence, always insidiously working in any spiritual movement, and against which in the Roman Church the Reformation protest arose, had seriously affected the new movement. Spiritual religion, sustained in direct and living experience, and not in traditional inheritance and institutional formalism, is alone sufficient for a movement that goes out to save and win in new territory. We have seen that there was an

extensive work in connection with political and commercial expansion, but that it was always lacking in sustained support and in conquering power. In every political state of Europe the unholy union of Church and State continued as the operating principle in Protestantism, as it had been a convinced method of the Roman Catholic expansion in Europe. Similarly Protestantism found itself still, for the most part, holding on to the idea and the dogma of ceremonial regeneration, to a certain sacramentarian belief that hindered the freedom of the spiritual principle. Thus it was that by the time Protestantism should have been ready to see and assume the duty of evangelizing the heathen there was an inhibiting deadness within most of the churches.

Missions can grow only in the soil of a spiritual religion, unless they have been made a recognized function of a formal religious system, and this had not been the case with Protestantism. Hence we have to recognize as another line of indirect preparation of the Protestant churches for their missions the rise of various Pietistic and evangelistic movements within the churches. Pietism is a recognized factor in the history of religion in Protestant Europe, and it was out of the Pietistic centres that the new missionary life arose in many instances, and from the Pietists came many of the first missionaries. This was the case, even for the colonial and commercial missions. The re-establishment of the Moravian Brotherhood, under the patronage of Zinzendorf, was a major influence in the rise of modern missions. Similarly the Methodist movement broke up the ground and prepared the way for the growing of a new expression of living Christianity. There were widespread revivals in England, especially in the west of England, and in America in the first half of the eighteenth century, and again a mighty revival movement just at the time when independent missionary organization began. These revivals and the missionary movement were a divine answer to the rationalism of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Formal orthodoxy was in both centuries either surrendering to rationalism or waging a losing polemic against it, when revival and saving interest in those who had not known the Christ in His Gospel came in to give unanswerable evidence of the presence and power of God, and to give to God in the Gospel of His Son an interpretation of Himself which made Him the God that men cannot deny, but the need of Whom they must confess. Only the God of all men, Who is the God of Christian missions, can compel recognition at the hands of men in an age of wide thought and progress.

LINEs OF DIRECT PREPARATION

With this rapid glance at certain lines by which the Church was indirectly undergoing preparation for an era of evangelical missions, we must turn to think of other lines of preparation which were direct and which consciously advanced the education and the purpose of the churches for this undertaking.

All the missionary work that was carried on in this period was in several ways moving toward the more definite and distinctively Christian undertakings. They served to bring the condition and need of the heathen

to the attention of Christendom; they demonstrated by their successes the divine approval on such work; they reacted on the spiritual life of Christendom for its deepening and vitalizing; they definitely cultivated the spirit of missions by which active efforts would be produced. The political and commercial missions in various directions showed the importance of this work and at the same time showed how unfit these secular forces were for a work that must be spiritual to achieve truly worthy results. Just when rationalism and secularism were undermining the support of these missionary efforts, the Church was coming into position to save them from surrender and abandonment by taking over the responsibility.

PRAYER

One of the first, and always one of the most normal and educative Christian reactions in the combinations of influences at work was prayer in behalf of the world's evangelization in general and of missions in particular. A volume could be written recording the place and power of prayer in the rise and development of the modern missionary movement. Several volumes have been written dealing with this subject, although none dealing with the specific period before us. Mrs. Montgomery has stated both fact and philosophy in saying that "prayer as a matter of fact has preceded every great missionary advance." This is true of the origin of missions in the life and teaching of Jesus. He met all the crises in His life in prayer, and made prayer central in His reliance on His followers for continuing the enterprise which He began. Every strategic advance and development recorded in the Acts of the Apostles was born of prayer. Paul was passionate in pleading for the prayers of "the saints" in behalf of him in his setting of the missionary strategy of the Christian movement, and he placed his hope of success in their "toiling together with him in their prayers in his behalf." In like manner the modern movement was born and nurtured in hearts and homes of prayer, in conferences, concerts and councils where the first business and the unfailing method was entrance into the mind of the Holy Spirit through prayer, and entrance upon the work of missions through inspiration and guidance that came in the experiences of prayer.

We have seen that the Moravians and the Methodists and the Pietists had very much to do with the origin and early advance of this missionary work. Prayer was the soul of these movements. Halle, from which the first missionaries came for the Danish missions, was a prayer centre for the culture of spiritual religion, then for the care of orphans and for distinctly Christian education. It naturally became the first centre of active missionary propaganda. The decisive action that led the Moravians to begin missionary work was taken at a prayer-meeting, and the first two volunteers met in the morning after each in a night of prayer, and all unknown to the other, had been led to dedicate himself for this work on condition that God would find him a fellow for the work.

Robert Millar, of Paisley, Scotland, published in 1723 a *History of the Propagation of Christianity and the Overthrow of Paganism*, which was

intended as an appeal for the continuance of that propagation and overthrow. He urged prayer as "the first of nine means for the conversion of the heathen world." Out of the great revivals in England came, in 1744, a "concert to promote more abundant application . . . to prayer that our God's Kingdom may come." This concert was to continue for two years. It greatly spread through Great Britain, and the next year a memorial was sent to America, inviting all Christians to unite in a covenant for such prayer "for the next seven years." Jonathan Edwards wrote the call for American Christians to unite in "extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom upon earth." With the new revival in England, toward the end of the century, Edwards' pamphlet was reprinted and led to a motion by John Sutcliff, one of the Baptist ministers, who was associated with Carey in advocating organization for missionary work, for a call to prayer for revival. John Ryland, Jr., another of Carey's supporters, wrote the call, inviting all Baptists and all other societies of all denominations to unite with them. They were to engage "heartily and perseveringly" in prayer on the first Monday of each month at the same hour. Among other items the call urges: "*Let the whole cause of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered, and the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe, be the object of your most fervent requests.*"

A monument marks the spot in Massachusetts where stood the hay-stack under which five students of Williams College took refuge from a rain, and there pledged themselves to the inauguration of a movement for the evangelization of the heathen "in their own persons." They had already been praying together about this matter, which had been laid on their hearts. Now they knelt together in prayer and formally committed themselves to this undertaking. Back of this meeting lies the history of its leader, Samuel John Mills, Jr., who is justly called the Father of Foreign Missionary Organization in America. He was born in the same year that William Carey became a pastor, 1784, in the home of a missionary minister, who was also editor of the first missionary magazine to be published in America. The mother prayed for two years that God would give her a son who should be a foreign missionary. This was eight years before the first society for missions was formed in England and twenty-six years before the first in the United States.

The place of prayer in the call of J. Hudson Taylor and in the experiences through which he came to found and direct the China Inland Mission are at least partly known to all students of missions. With some mistaken notions and with some lack of understanding of the motives and methods which they applied, this mission has had much to do with the advance of the case of missions in modern times, and most of all through its emphasis on direct contact with God through prayer. The Student Volunteer Movement, through which so many thousands have gone from the colleges and universities into the service of all the agencies of foreign missions, was born in the prayer experiences of Robert P. and Grace Wilder, and other students who were enlisted with them in their prayers for guidance. The movement actually came into being in a con-

secreation service at Northfield, and in an hour when the volunteering students were on their knees in an epochal experience. Truly, in modern times as in all times, the missionary cause has "advanced upon the knees" of men and women who thus came into fellowship with the Spirit of Jesus.

AGGRESSIVE ADVOCACY

Warneck has given a most thrilling story of the men who, in Germany, advocated and contended for the duty of missions and brought about its acceptance by the churches as a duty. He has made impossible any intelligent claim that the early Reformers were missionary in vision or spirit. Among those who took some interest in missions as the subject came to be considered, he finds three classes. There were some who saw that this was a Christian duty, but held that it rested only on the rulers, and that it must wait for their leadership. Such Christians were imbued with the error of the dependence of the Church on the state, and were unable to think creatively. Next were those who saw the duty to be a direct Christian obligation, but held that the times were such as afforded no opportunity and so did not call for present action. Others there were who saw the duty as absolute, immediate and imperative, and urged its acceptance. It was these last who produced a campaign that developed controversy and promoted the education of enough Christians in the duty of missions to bring about the definite undertaking. Yet it was a long, slow and often bitter struggle before the day was won.

Some grounds of opposition sound curious today, while others are still used by selfish and unwilling souls. The duty of propaganda was said by some to be that of apostles alone. They held that the apostles had no successors, and so the duty and even the right terminated with them. Thereafter every nation was to develop what it had got, or was to seek what it might need. The Gospel had been preached in all the world once, and that was the only opportunity that ought to be given. The present condition of the heathen world was their punishment for failing to continue in the truth. The apostolic missionary work was accompanied and promoted by miracle-working power, which the Holy Spirit no longer gives and, therefore, He does not expect Christians to engage in this work. It was the business of the Church to "gather the elect out of Babylon (the Roman Church)" as speedily as possible, in view of the imminent return of the Lord. There would not be time to go to the heathen, and we must be content to evangelize such of them as may come into Christian lands. If God has any elect in heathen lands He will find ways of reaching them, as indeed He was doing through travellers and by other means. There was too much to do at home, and too many there were still heathen to permit seeking elsewhere for men to save. The enterprise was said to be impracticable because of the ignorance, degradation and antagonism of the heathen; because of the lack of facilities for reaching them; because of the dissipation and demoralization of the Christian forces that would result in sending men abroad who were needed at home. This line of argument was in contradiction of another, which nevertheless was employed: We are

under no obligation to give the message to the heathen, for besides natural religion, wherein God speaks to all men, all have at some time had contact with revelation. In any case, it was said, and truly for a long while, that none of the theologians was in favour of such an undertaking. For the first urgent advocates were laymen. The theologians were occupied with pressing problems in the growing Protestant movement.

Erasmus is the first of the Reformers to give attention to the subject of missions. His *Art of Preaching* was published in 1536. It contains a vigorous statement as to the duty of foreign mission work, points out the wide field calling for this, gives some strong arguments for it, meets theoretical objections, and exhorts to the undertaking. Erasmus lacked moral earnestness and the gifts of leadership; no one else was interested, and his advocacy produced no results. It was less than twenty years since Luther sounded the call for revolt, and all capable of leadership were preoccupied with pressing questions right at hand.

Adrianus Saravia came later in that century, and made more stir with his call. He was pastor in Antwerp and Brussels, and fled to England to escape the furious onslaughts of the zealous and heartless Duke of Alva. He was professor in Leyden five years, but spent his last twenty-five years in England, where he died as Dean of Westminster, in 1613. In 1590 he published a treatise on *Orders of the Ministry as Instituted by the Lord*. His primary purpose in this study was obviously ecclesiastical, but he was open-eyed enough to see that the Lord gave large place to missionaries, and he could not wholly omit this "order." He had a chapter in which he set forth the binding obligation of the Church to the command of the Lord to preach the Gospel to all nations. He presented four orderly arguments for his claim, said that as there is the obligation, so also there is the power; and that if the work is not done, it is for lack of apostolic men and of living missionary zeal. Beza replied to him, and called forth a further defence of his idea and advocacy of missionary work by Saravia. About the time of his death, there appeared another effort to refute his position, this time by John Gerhard.

The matter was now growing warm. Count Erhardt Truchsess, of Wetzhausen, formally laid before the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg a "scruple." He would know "how East and South and West shall be converted to the only saving faith, since no one of the Augsburg Confession was going to preach in obedience to the commission." This was putting the matter squarely up to the fountain-head of the Lutheran Church, and the Count could not be ignored. The reply of the faculty is serious, but does no credit to them in their use of either logic, Scriptures or common sense. They cited Matthew 16:20; Romans 10:18; Psalm 19:4; Colossians 1:23 as proving that the command, which they declared to be "*personale privilegium*" of the apostles, had been fulfilled long ago. They argued that if it were not to be so understood, then the command would be upon every preacher, and that every one would have to go into all the world; besides the obvious absurdity of this notion, they found that Acts 14:23; 20:18; 1 Peter 5:1 and Titus 1:5 made it the duty of every preacher to remain in his own church. That "no one is to be excused before God

because of ignorance," they found abundantly made clear in the first two chapters of Romans and in Acts 13:46; 17:27; 18:6. How little they understood the compassion of the Saviour is shown by the turn they took in the face of their own proof that the untaught millions were under judgment. So long as these had "no excuse" for their condition, these good men were content. God was clear, and that was all that mattered. They argued that it was the duty of the political "guardians and nurses of the Church" to bring the heathen in, "*jure belli*," or by "other lawful means" (!).

We have noted, in considering the Dutch Colonial Missions, how Justus Heurnius with great ability advocated missions in Holland. In 1618 he addressed to the General States and Prince Maurice *De Lagatione Evangelica ad Indos Capessenda Admonitio*, which Barnes accounts a "vigorous book," urging earnest efforts to evangelize the heathen. The statesman and theologian, Hugo Grotius, not only gave his personal and official support to the work in the East Indies, but wrote a work on the *Truth of the Christian Religion (De Veritate Religionis Christianæ)* which was translated into Malay and Arabic for use in the missionary work.

Most powerful of all the advocates of missions in this era was the Austrian Baron Justinian von Weltz, 1621-1670. He pressed the battle irresistibly and would give the authorities no peace. He urged revival at home, seeing most clearly that between "living Christianity" and missions there was "innermost connection." He manifests an amazing insight into the principles and methods which should guide in such an undertaking, his outlines being in detailed accord with what came to be adopted nearly a century and a half later. He began with publishing, in 1655, *A Brief Account as to How a New Society Might Be Formed Among Believing Christians of the Augsburg Confession*. This probably had reference to the Society of Jesus ("Jesuits"), which was so notably serving the foreign missionary work of the Roman Church, a reference which was particularly offensive to Protestants. The phrase "Believing Christians" in his title would mollify his readers somewhat in its implication that Catholics were not believing Christians, but it might equally suggest that there were unbelievers among the Protestant membership. Most notable is his insight that the missionary cause and work would have to depend on individual interest and action. His private efforts convinced some of the theologians of the soundness of his contention, but produced no effective response. He followed this with three other strong treatises.

(I) "*A Christian and Loyal Exhortation, Etc.*," addressed to all evangelical rulers, barons and nobles; doctors, professors and preachers; students of theology, students of medicine and law; merchants, and all that love Jesus.

(II) An outline of a method for entering upon and carrying on the work. His proposal was for a society to charge itself with both home and foreign missions. It was to be made up of "*promotores, conservatores et missionarii*," contributors, administrators and missionaries, the missionaries

to be trained for their work in a "*collegium de propaganda fide*." It had been but a few years since Urban VII. had established the Collegium in Rome, which doubtless influenced the thinking of von Weltz. He was thinking of thorough work in Christianizing the natives, and had in mind expressly the colonial areas of Dutch, Swedes and Danes as spheres already accessible and demanding occupation.

(III) *A Repeated Loyal and Earnest Reminder and Admonition to Undertake the Conversion of Unbelieving Nations; to All Evangelical Rulers, Clergymen and Jesus-loving Hearts*, etc. As reasons for this work he sets forth the will of God; the example of godly men in the history of Christianity; the petitions in the liturgy; the example of the Papists. This last was a bitter thrust for the Protestants. It was a standing argument of the Romanists that the Protestants could be no true Church of Jesus Christ nor genuine believers, because they were not interested in the heathen, nor in the extension of the Kingdom of God. Von Weltz was the first to confess the justice of the argument. He told his people that the "Papists" were right in applying this test, and that the only legitimate answer to it was action. Unless they did take interest in the lost of all the world and did seek to extend the Kingdom of their Lord, they had no right to take His name. He plied the people with the Scriptures, pointed out the absurdity and hypocrisy of using the Lord's Prayer and other forms of praying for the extension of the Kingdom, while no hand is put to the task of promoting it. He refutes the leading objections to the missionary undertaking and powerfully lashes an indifferent and unworthy Church. At length he disposed of his fortune in a way to promote the cause for which he was pleading, and went to Dutch Guiana to lose his life in the jungles and the heat, where he went to seek and save the ignorant and primitive natives. The Corpus Evangelicorum, through Ursinius, gave an official ecclesiastical reply to the urging of von Weltz. It was a lengthy discussion indignantly rejecting his proposals as visionary, self-conceited, blasphemous, deceiving the people, akin in spirit to Meunzer and the Quakers. It warned against the proposed Society of Jesus, closing with the cry: "Preserve us from it, dear Lord God!"

It will be instructive and stimulating to read the peroration of von Weltz' appeal:

"I set you before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, Who, righteous Judge that He is, heeds not though ye be called high and honoured court preachers, venerable superintendents, learned professors; before this strict tribunal ye shall give me answer to these questions of conscience. I ask, who gave you authority to misinterpret the commandment of Christ in Matthew xxviii? I ask, is it right that you annul the apostolic office which Christ instituted, and without which the body of Christ is incomplete, I Corinthians xii; Ephesians iv? I ask you, from Matthew v, why do you not show yourselves as lights of the world, and do not let your light shine that Turks and heathens may see your good works, and also that young students may appear as lights of the world? I ask you, from I Peter ii, 12, if ye are following and are exhorting other young people to follow the commandment of Peter, that you should have a seemly behaviour among the Gentiles, that they may see

your good works and glorify God? I ask you, from I Thessalonians i, 8, if ye have brought it about that the Word of God has sounded farther than in Germany and Sweden and Denmark, as Paul so highly commends his Thessalonians that their faith toward God is gone forth from them into all places? I ask, are you prepared to answer for it that you have taken counsel neither with your princes nor with your congregations, nor even been willing to take counsel, as to how the Gospel shall be preached to unbelievers, as did the early Church, so setting you a fine example? I ask you clergy if ye are not dealing contrary to conscience when ye pray publicly in the congregation that the holy name of God may become ever more widely known and acknowledged by other nations, while yet ye yourselves do not your part towards this end? Tell me, ye who are learned, if the Papists do you wrong when they charge you with doing no works of Christian love, since ye seek not to convert the heathen? Say, in face of the impartial verdict of God, ye scholars, who let yourselves be also called spiritual, is it right in no way to have put a matter to the proof and yet to say it is not practicable? Wherefore do ye persuade princes and lords that the conversion of the heathen is not practicable in this age, while you have neither yet tried it nor suffered it to be tried in any land? Say, ye hypocrites, where do ye find in the Bible the word 'impracticable'? Did the disciples and apostles, when Christ sent them forth, answer Him thus, 'Master, this work is not practicable in this age'? Had not the disciples to preach even to those who were not willing to receive them? Oh, what a changed world! Woe to you clergy who act contrary to the Word of God, and to your own conscience! Woe to you, and yet again woe, that ye are not willing to help at all that the Kingdom of God may be spread abroad in the world! I wish not to condemn you, but I thus earnestly entreat you that in the future ye do more for the work of converting unbelieving nations than ye have done hitherto. . . . Ye clergy, if from pride, conceit of wisdom, contempt of all earnest counsel, ye will show no compassion towards the heathen, if, I say, you are not disposed because of your voluptuous life to help the advance of the Kingdom of Christ, and to repent, then upon you and your children and your children's children will fall all the curses which are written in the 109th Psalm."

In Holland there were other advocates besides Heurnius and Grotius, such as Dankaerts, Teelinck and Udemann in the first half; and Hornbeck and Lodenstein in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In Denmark there was little occasion for controversy over the idea. The connection of Church and State was very close, and the decline of Danish colonization reduced the demand for missionaries in the colonies, and the Danish vision did not much expand beyond Danish possessions until the nineteenth century.

England and America were not greatly stirred with missionary concern until later, and there are few clear calls to world responsibility until the latter half of the eighteenth century. We must not forget Roger Williams, David Brainerd and some others. Yet the colonies could more than absorb all the interest and energy of evangelization upon the colonists and the Indians. It is not surprising that for the most part they lacked world-vision.

Cromwell fell under the influence of the early outreachings of Protestantism. It was his Long Parliament that founded the corporation for

the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and directed the raising of sixty thousand dollars for it. In organizing the Jamaica Expedition he provided seven chaplains whose instructions were drawn up by John Milton. When general evangelization of the heathen was being agitated he proposed an ambitious scheme. He would divide the whole earth into four missionary provinces, for one of which each of the four Protestant nations would become responsible, Germany, Denmark, Holland, England. Thus the aim would be to bring all into the Protestant faith. His plan would preserve unity and co-operation. A central *congregatio de propaganda fide*, after the manner of Pope Gregory a quarter of a century earlier, was to promote and superintend the working of the scheme. There would be seven directors and four secretaries paid from the state treasuries. Cromwell came to the end of his career without any action on his impracticable proposal. Two English ministers, both ejected from their "livings" by the Act of Conformity, Joseph Alleine and John Oxenbridge, actively urged the duty of missions. Edward Hyde (Lord Clarendon) "superintended the translation of the Gospels and Acts into Malayese" and proposed using Christ Church College, Oxford, for training missionaries. George Fox, on the testimony of Robson, "had a clear perception of the missionary duty of Christians, which not only inspired some of his immediate followers to noble, if isolated, endeavours, but through William Penn and otherwise contributed to a true understanding of the duty of Christians toward the heathen." The Quakers actually sent three missionaries for China, but they failed to reach the country. Humphrey Prideaux addressed an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1695), pressing the responsibility of England for the heathen in the possessions which were being acquired in the East Indies.

By the turn into the eighteenth century we have come upon extensive thought and discussion which awakened the sense of responsibility for accepting the ever widening opportunity of Protestants. Spener, preaching from the text, "They . . . went forth and preached everywhere," strongly lays on Christians the direct duty of evangelizing the heathen, and suggests that the neglected unbelievers will in the day of judgment "cry for vengeance upon Christians who have been so utterly without care for their salvation," for he insisted: "The obligation rests on the whole Church to have care as to how the Gospel shall be preached to the whole world," without limit of labour or cost. Schriver, in *Seelenschatz*, shows how nineteen-thirtieths of the race are heathen, six-thirtieths Mohammedan, and only five-thirtieths Christian. On the basis of the condition and need he appeals for the honour of Christianity that it be extended. At least urgent prayer could be made to such end. In a passage of great eloquence and passionate earnestness he arraigns the materialism and worldliness of a Christianity whose adherents can go into all parts of the world on every mission save that of redemption.

It is not customary to think of the scientist-philosopher Leibnitz in connection with missions. Yet he was deeply interested in all parts of the world and sought to extend knowledge to all the world. In all this his soul gave a religious turn to his thought. When the Berlin Academy

of Sciences (The Royal Society of Prussia) was founded under his influence, in 1700, he saw to it that the charter provided that one of the objects of the organization should be to "charge itself with the propagation of the true faith and Christian virtue." He was greatly interested in a group of Jesuit missionaries whom he met as they were going to China. He learned all he could from them, and arranged for correspondence with them. He edited a collection of their letters with an introduction, giving suggestions for establishing Lutheran missions in China and committing himself to the backing of such work. Francke, at Halle, was aroused by this, and corresponded with Leibnitz. Thus Francke was prepared for his part in the Danish-Halle Mission in 1705-6. Then Francke became editor of what was at first an annual report of the Danish-Halle work in India and became, as the first magazine of missions, a distinct educational factor in this cause. He called his reports a *History of Evangelical Missions in the East for the Conversion of the Heathen*. Sermons and addresses by the Wesleys, Whitfield, and later Thomas Coke, and by Zinzendorf and others were widely circulated, for that day, and formed part of a growing tract literature in the advocacy of missions. Some noble contributions to this form of propaganda were made by English representatives of the British East India Company, such as Grant and Chambers, and by the devout and able Danish Governor, George Udney.

The Pietists, Methodists and other revivalists did great service to the movement for missions by their hymns. When the people get to singing an idea, it works toward action. We find such hymns in both Germany and England in growing number. From the eighteenth century we get "Wach auf du Geist der Ersten Zengen" (Awake thou Spirit of the Early Martyrs), by Bogatzky (1710); "O König Aller Ehren" (O King of all Nations) by the great mystic Boehme, and a number of others. In English are metrical translations of the missionary psalms and prophecies of the Old Testament. Among these are, "Jesus Shall Reign," Psalm 72 (1719); "Behold the Mountain of the Lord;" "Sing to the Lord in Joyful Strains;" several by Charles Wesley; "O'er the Gloomy Hills of Darkness," by Williams, 1722; "Arm of the Lord, Awake," by Shrubsole, 1795.

But for the formalism and spiritual poverty in the churches, the modern Protestant missions would have gotten under way a century earlier than they did. The spiritual groups who nurtured the ideal found their energies all demanded for the pressing practical task in the home mission service of awakening a sleeping Church and grappling with personal sin and social corruptions.

SOME ORGANIZATIONS AND WORK

The growing missionary conviction and the forms of missionary work actually undertaken—which we have seen to be, after all, quite considerable—called for organization, which in tentative and experimental ways prepared for the more appropriate and effective organization when once the burden was fairly assumed. Several projects were undertaken in the continent of Europe looking toward Eastern missions, most of which

came to naught. Some colleges were instituted to train missionaries and had brief lives of usefulness. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England" was founded in 1649 because of the work of John Eliot, and gave extensive support to that work until the end of that century. In 1701, a more extensive organization came into being, this time backed by action of the Church of England Council, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. While it had the American Indians in mind as a secondary objective and later Negroes and then natives in other dependencies, its primary objective for the first hundred years of its history was providing clergy and religious ministrations for British colonists and residents in other lands, and combatting the growing independence of religion in the colonies, where the non-conformist churches seemed to the orderly Episcopalians to be bringing Christianity into disorder and shame.

The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was formed in 1698 "to provide Christian literature and to promote Christian education both at home and abroad." It continues to the present day, but has never taken the sending of missionaries as its function. When the Danish Mission in India was failing for lack of funds, this society became the financial backer to continue the work. In 1709 a similar organization with the same name was founded in Edinburgh, and became the supporter of David Brainerd in his brief heroic work among the Delaware Indians. The Moravian Brotherhood, after 1732, became in effect a missionary society.

Shortly before the opening of the modern period, and leading into it, numerous local and regional organizations arose in America for missions among frontiersmen and often including Indians in their aims. Among Congregationalists and Baptists this work of following up the always receding frontier was more and more assumed by the "associations" or by groups who used the annual association meetings as their opportunity for combining interest and support for this important work of preserving the religious character of the new world populations. All this type of work was cultivating the Christian mind for grasping the world in its vision of duty.

III. OPENING THE WAY FOR THE CHURCH TO REACH THE WORLD

World movements, in the providence of God, were opening up avenues of approach by the awakened Church to an aroused world. The nations, in their ambitions and expansions, were making highways for God. This is always an important factor in the expansion of Christianity. The Church has sometimes been quite blind to its opportunities thus thrust before it, and never quite prepared for full use of them. Looking through the movements of the three centuries now under review, we see several lines of such shaping of events so as to challenge Protestantism to enter aggressively upon the call to go to the uttermost part of the earth in witness to the Christ.

PROTESTANT COUNTRIES COME TO WORLD POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

The transfer of the hegemony of the seas from Catholic to Protestant

nations shifted the burden of responsibility for non-Christian lands from Catholic institutions to the evangelical bodies. Holland was the first of the Reformation lands to take to the seas, beginning her merchant marine in the sixteenth century and enlarging it in the seventeenth. In 1588 the British destroyed the Spanish Armada and proceeded to the most remarkable career of world commerce the world has ever seen. Long the foremost Protestant land, "Britannia has ruled the waves" for three and a half centuries and has made the sea an asset for evangelical expansion to the ends of the earth. Denmark never became so great a factor as the Dutch or the British, yet took extensive part in the overseas carrying and was more friendly to Gospel freightage than either of the others in the earlier times.

The extension of discovery and exploration, followed by colonization, by appropriation and by imperial inclusion, more and more brought Protestant churches face to face with increasing millions of unevangelized people. The field of immediate opportunity and pressing responsibility was ever growing vaster. By 1600 the Catholic countries had reached the climax of their remarkable career of world discovery and expansion. The countries that adhered to the Protestant faith now pressed forward in their career, equally daring and heroic and more expansive and permanent. They prepared the way for the missionary in India and the Pacific Islands, in North America, South Africa and subsequently in South America, the rest of Asia and finally the whole of Africa. To be sure, all this expansion had in it elements far from Christian—how far we are only now coming to realize. All along there was much of greed, exploitation, inhumanity, and always in the secular element there was far more reaching after material gains than appreciation of human values. Even so, the Christians had their opportunity and their call. These expansions produced the evangelical missionary era. The world was brought under Protestant rule and under evangelical leadership, more and more Anglo-Saxon leadership. This made for progress and for Christianity. It ultimately forces upon Christendom the question of the right of racial and cultural dominance, until expanding Christianity has to face the problem of Christianizing its own motives, its own civilization, its own institutions. But this newer problem could arise only under the conditions produced by "the expansion of Christendom." In the first centuries of that expansion the wider applications of the principles of righteousness, justice and humanity were not much felt. It remained for a world-wide Christianity to reveal them and to erect a judgment seat before which its own followers must stand to answer for their sins of pride, exploitation, aggression and robbery. This gets ahead of the story. We return to the outreach of Protestant nations as opening arenas for the heralds of the Gospel.

The Dutch began by making conquest of territories which the Portuguese had appropriated in the East, and went on to appropriate new territory on their own account. Here their period of aggression was 1596-1664. The British began by conquest and assimilation of Spanish colonies from 1588 onward. Next they entered India, at first going to

parts as yet unoccupied by European powers, where they had a wide field, from 1757. In 1759 they began robbing the French. In 1787 they picked up Sierra Leone as the first step on a long career of territorial domination in Africa, a career of magnitude not at all in mind or even imagined until long afterwards. The Protestant Dutch had to give place for the expanding empire from 1795 in South Africa, and in 1901 that phase was completed in the incorporation of the two Boer republics.

The rise of the United States from 1776 introduced a new national factor. Her territorial expansion, by means of migration across the continent, by purchase and by conquest made this nation an ever growing agent of Protestant opportunity, almost coinciding with the modern missionary period.

Germany did not, of course, come into the field for empire building until after the middle of the nineteenth century, but, once in, was a tremendously important factor.

MATERIAL RESOURCES AND FACILITIES

Meantime the enormous development of material resources, with inventions, discoveries and appliances that revolutionized the economic life of the West and reintegrated the culture of the race, was rapidly unifying the life of the world. International commerce was inevitably and inextricably interrelated with missions, each being both motive for and product of the other. This world commerce was promoted especially by the great trading monopolies; and the attitude of these companies had very definite influence on the missionary movement and work.

The British East India Company operated for more than two and a half centuries, 1598-1858. It was responsible for British control in India and for much of the expansion in other regions of the Far East, as also for Great Britain's predominant influence in the politics of the East. Until 1778 the company had no occasion to fix any policy with reference to missions, for they were not yet being pressed. Facing the question, the policy was one of antagonism. Missionaries were not allowed passage on the company's ships, and in some instances not permitted to reside in territory controlled by it. And until 1813 British political administration was closely associated with the company's operations and usually determined by the Company's will. The charter of the Company was periodically reviewed and revised by Parliament. When such a review was up in 1813 the friends of missions, by a determined fight, succeeded in depriving the company of all authority in matters of religion. Officially, the Company was compelled to encourage and protect the missions; but actually many of its agents and employees hindered. There were notable exceptions. Some lent encouragement and patronage, contributed funds and openly favoured the cause. After the Rebellion, India was taken definitely into the empire and Victoria proclaimed Empress, and with an explicit declaration of the Christian basis of power and rule inserted in the proclamation by emphatic order of the Queen over the protest of her minister, the able Disraeli. In all other sections, government functions were now separated from the authority of the Company. A great step was taken to

free the work of missions from complications with trade, but after more than a century this freedom is not complete.

The Dutch East India Company was distinctly friendly, but became indifferent and always some of its representatives discouraged the work. The West India Company was mildly friendly. The numerous companies exploiting America in the colonial period all nominally had a Christian and missionary aspect and obligation, but did little to help, and their actual relations with the aborigines in the main were anything but Christian and winsome.

CREATING BASES OF SUPPLY

The growth of empire, and the expansion of trade and influence, and the accumulation of wealth in Christian lands constituted the erection of great bases of supply of men and means for missions, and began the development of a missionary statesmanship. All this preparation continues with the ongoing of world movements. The British Empire was first in importance until the World War. With all that may be said of the wrongs of imperialism; and of the greed, the exploitations, the ruthless disregard of human rights and the right of "self-determination of peoples," at times involved in British expansion; whatever indictments may fairly be drawn in specific cases of injustice and iniquity—and they are not a few—it remains true that the British have taken and held no section of the world that has not been elevated in economic and cultural welfare thereby. We must take account of conditions and standards during the period of European expansion. We cannot disregard the fact that the basal forces of history interrelate themselves, and the religious motive is not able either to separate itself wholly from other motives or completely to master the other motives with ideal control. Nor must we forget the thousand years of arrest in development and of primitive unprogressiveness, on the part of so large a part of the world's population. It is a law of life that a people who for long periods fail to utilize their resources and to advance in their civilization must give place to those who do make progress, or must yield to the stimulation of leadership and enter the roads of progress under the tutelage and control of others. The ills of imperialistic progress ought to be set in relation to the ills of stagnation where peoples are left alone. When three hundred million Indian people, for example, can be possessed and ruled by a nation of forty million, and with never more than one hundred thousand of the dominant people, on all errands and all told, present at one time in the dominated country, it is clear that somebody will take control in obedience to the laws of life and progress. Nor, once more, are we to overlook that the age of imperialistic advance has brought to consciousness the evils of imperialism and has aroused the conscience of mankind to demand recognition of rights and values in human life as supreme. And it is the Christian ideals and conscience that have brought the awakening. Here is, at last, the supreme result of the modern evangelical missionary movement—this new sense of humanity and this demand for righteousness in international dealings, this growing sense of the oneness of humanity and call for world citizenship, this

sense of a divine imperative in the relations and objectives of men. Let us try to picture the world without the advances produced by this expansion impulse; or try to imagine expansion without any of the influences of Christianity. The achievement of this age in missions is the visualizing of a new world order and the opening of the way for achievement on a higher plane than humanity has ever before envisioned.

In the light of all the considerations, the British Empire for three hundred years has been the greatest secular factor in the advance of the slowly growing Kingdom of God. The future of that empire will depend upon the attitude it takes toward these Kingdom values and the contribution it makes to them; for at the heart of history-making and in the long run of events Jehovah is ever "coming to judge the earth; He shall judge the world in righteousness and the peoples with equity."

The same principles apply to all the empires and "powers." And this term "power," as now universally applied in discussion of international relationships, is an index of the deeply vicious concept which still controls in world diplomacy. It is utterly unchristian. It must give way to another way of thinking and directing in the affairs of the nations.

The second greatest missionary base was developed in the United States. Since the World War it must take first place. In financial support and in missionary personnel it now goes far ahead, as in all reason it should. By degrees the Christians in the United States must take over the greater responsibility for missionary statesmanship. Germany never, after the earlier stages of Protestant missions, provided men or money equal to those of Great Britain and the United States. The War almost eliminated her for the time being. Already German Christianity is beginning to recover its share in the work. The progress and measure of its participation—as in every other case—will depend upon the inner spiritual development. These major bases of supply for missions suggest how we should think of all the Christian countries. Their highest function is in the work of Christianizing the world.

OPENING DOORS

An engaging chapter of the history of providential preparation for missions might deal with the "opening of doors" to the lands to be evangelized. This is part of the whole movement now under review. For a summary statement it may be well to classify the countries and groups by the prevalent religions.

I. "Pagan lands." China was opened by the demands of commerce, which brought on the Opium War—1838-40—which resulted in missionary access in five "treaty ports," besides the ceded island of Hong Kong. In general, further access was under the same influence of trade until European imperialism complicated the situation further by political diplomacy. Yet all along there were missionaries who held themselves and their work separate from secular complications and pressed their message in purely spiritual ways. Japan was opened peaceably by United States diplomacy under the lead of Commodore Perry, who negotiated a trade treaty, to be followed as a matter of course by similar relations of Japan

with other nations. This led to a new policy by the nation. Educators for youth were invited from the United States. In 1868 a revolution restored the Mikado to power and began the reconstruction of the social-economic order from the feudal to the national system. Edicts against Christianity were suspended in 1873. The constitution of 1889 provided for entire religious freedom, which the Government has loyally maintained. Korea was a pawn in the policies of China, Japan and Russia. Li Hung Chang exerted his influence, and Dr. Allen, in behalf of the United States, was able to overcome the exclusiveness in 1884. A Presbyterian missionary in Manchuria, Ross, had previously reached some Koreans by working in the annual border market, and Dr. Allen, of this Presbyterian Mission, became the representative of the United States Government. Dr. Allen's surgical attendance on a prince who had been cut in a street attack was the occasion for winning the favour of the rulers and opening the way for missionary work.

How India was opened by trade, colonization and then imperial incorporation, has been outlined. Officially all India has been open since 1857.

Colonization gave operating bases on certain coasts of Africa. Heroic explorers, of whom David Livingstone is the greatest of many, made the beginning of the missionary work the end of their sacrifices. Explorers with other motives also brought into light the wide reaches of "darkest Africa." In 1884-5 (in the Treaty of Berlin) the European governments, by formal treaty, partitioned the great unoccupied areas among themselves, agreeing to respect the allotments. The interests of the natives played no part in the negotiations.

The Islands of the Seas were appropriated by the various "powers," but the opening for the Gospel was chiefly made by the heroism and martyrdom of the missionaries. The voyages and discoveries of Captain Cook, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, "awakened at that time in Europe a romantic enthusiasm," which so affected Carey that he was looking to the Tahitians as his field of labour, until shortly before his going to India. These islands were usually easy prey for the land-grabbing nations, and the Church "gave of her sons" liberally to follow the openings and to make new openings at the price of many lives.

2. Moslem lands have been far more difficult of access, as would be expected from the nature of the religion and from the history of Mohammedan and Christian contacts. So long as they remained under Moslem political control they did not admit missionaries with any freedom, and never until 1909 with permission to proselytize Mohammedans. British and American protection had made possible missionary operations in the Turkish Empire from 1819. The burst of freedom and liberalism of the "Young Turk" party of 1909 was short-lived. The status of the missionary remains a problem in the country of Mustapha Kemal. Much Mohammedan population and territory have passed under British and French control, in India, Egypt, other parts of Africa, in the Near East and in Malaysia; and some five millions in the Philippines are subject to United States control. This has given a measure of freedom for Christian mis-

sions; but governments are naturally and properly cautious of arousing religious antagonisms.

3. Catholic lands have always been potentially mission territory for Protestant churches, as all Protestant countries were classed as mission fields by the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide* of the Catholics. Not until the latter half of the nineteenth century did countries under Catholic political rule permit efforts to evangelize any who were even nominally "children of the Church." The progress of the principle of religious freedom has been slow, and is still far from universally accomplished. Mexico became legally open to propaganda with the establishment of the Republic under Juarez, 1867. With the unity of Italy in 1870, evangelicals might propagate their faith. In South America there began, about 1810, a double movement; for independence of Spain and Portugal and for republican government. With the success of these efforts came the beginnings of Protestant freedom. This has grown until it is at last approximating general realization, but with powerful resistance still in certain countries. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and smaller islands were completely opened as a result of the Spanish-American War, 1898-1900.

In the reintegration of Europe since the War, under the Treaty of Versailles, and the League of Nations, religious freedom and liberty of propaganda are assured to all. Yet the true meaning of this principle seems to be little comprehended. Actual persecution is frequent in some countries, and has been especially severe in Rumania. Russia knows nothing of the human rights in religion. Social repression operates against non-conformists in all countries when an "Established Church" has long existed. The world has, however, come at length to respect in some measure the essential, natural right to religious freedom. In spite of many obstacles in many lands, no land is now wholly inaccessible to the missionary. For the moment one must except Russia.

XI

CAREY AND THE NEW EPOCH

IF ever an idea was originated in any man by the Spirit of God, it was this idea of the evangelization of the world." Leonard, who quotes this sentiment with reference to William Carey, adds: "And the year of grace 1792 is *annus mirabilis*, the famous date from which to reckon backward and forward." He places the action led by Carey alongside the "Separation of Barnabas and Saul" for the missionary work (Acts 13:1 ff.), Paul's call "to lay the foundation of the Gospel in Europe," the Lutheran Reformation. Carey has long been rightly reckoned "the Father of the modern missionary movement." That in face of the fact that there had been so much work done before him. Nearly all the previous Protestant work had been on a wrong basis of support and had had such relations to politics and trade as both to hinder its spirit and make uncertain its continuity. As a matter of fact, colonial missions were declining in support and in promise just when the expansion of Europe into the rest of the earth was creating an undreamed opportunity and a challenge to Christian conscience that could not be ignored.

No church was prepared to accept the challenge and seize the opportunity. The state churches were hampered by their official relations with politics. The non-conformist churches were under limitations and restraints and generally were lacking in the sense of corporate unity and solidarity that would make easy their functioning as agencies of this enterprise. In any case the missionary conviction had as yet seized only a small minority of the membership of any church, and the Spirit of God would not wait on corporate agreement and action. It was only natural that He would inspire leadership in the most individualistic of the Christian denominations. Even here the inspiration would come to a relatively obscure minister, with no official standing among his brethren and with no traditions connecting him with the conservative sentiment of his Baptist brethren. He came out of the state church, wherein his father was a parish clerk and a local schoolmaster. Circumstances of health determined his apprenticeship to a shoemaker and poverty served further to limit his opportunities. In the providence of God, which goes too often under the concept of accident and incident, he thus fell in with godly dissenters and was brought to saving experience of Jesus Christ in one of those open-air revivals that so scandalized good churchmen. His break with his own respectable religious tradition and connection was completed when, under the call of a sermon on "Let us go forth unto him without the camp bearing his reproach," he won courage to go into a little Baptist church. With Carey thenceforward conviction meant action, and he shortly found himself preaching and becoming responsible, in 1784,

for the pastoral supervision of a church. The Bible was his guide and *vade mecum*.

William had an uncle, Peter, who was a sailor and adventurer. From his boyhood, Uncle Peter's stories had fired his imagination for geographic flights. Cook's voyages fed the fires. Bible and geography were working in his soul when, in 1784, Jonathan Edwards' call to a concert of prayer "for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom upon earth" was republished in England. Carey's own Northamptonshire Association sent out a call for united prayer on the part of all Christians. For Carey this meant active effort. In his shoeshop he studied his Bible and the world. On the wall he fixed a paper on which he made a map on which he inscribed data about the peoples of all lands and their religions. So careful was he that his facts are to this day taken as reliable for his day. He talked to all who would listen about "the duty of Christians to go everywhere telling the glad tidings to all." In 1789, when he was pastor in Leicester and gaining a good standing in his denomination, he was urged by the venerable moderator of the association, John Ryland, Sr., to propose a subject for discussion. He hesitated, but was urged, and proposed the question: "Whether the command given to the apostles to teach all nations was not obligatory on all ministers to the end of the world." It was not very gracious for the moderator to call out: "Sit down, young man. You are a miserable enthusiast to ask such a question. When God wants to convert the world He can do it without your help; and at least nothing can be done until a second Pentecost shall bring a return of the miraculous gifts." By 1791 Carey had put his "Enquiry" on paper, and one of his deacons had agreed to make possible its publication, Carey undertaking to use any profits from the sale for beginning a fund for inaugurating a mission. The sermons in the association that year showed how Carey's influence was working. Sutcliff preached from 1 Kings 19:10: "I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts;" and Fuller from Haggai 1:2: "This people say, the time has not come that the Lord's house should be built." Carey failed in an effort to capitalize the emotion aroused for proceeding to organize. But he was winning friends. In May, 1792, he was himself the preacher. He threw all his soul into the effort to precipitate action. His sermon was based on Isaiah 54:2-3. He drew from the passage two great challenges: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God." He used the formative ideas of the Bible, the history of Christianity, the condition of the world to enforce his line of thought and appeal. Although he mightily moved his hearers, they again put him off, but appointed a meeting at Kettering for October 2. There a small group came together and on that date twelve ministers formed the first society for promoting the evangelization of the world, with an initial subscription of thirteen pounds, ten shillings and six pence.

What was new in all this, justifying the making of this October 2, 1792, an age-turning event may not be so easy of statement; yet the whole story of the missionary movement since then is coloured and largely fashioned by the principles that were involved in the action of these ministers in the Widow Wallis' little breakfast room of a back

parlour in Kettering. It is most fitting that a Baptist layman purchased this property and presented it to the Baptist Missionary Society, in 1922, when it was opened as a permanent missionary museum and shrine for devoted pilgrimages of tribute to the grace of God working in that event.

Here was the beginning of organization distinctly and specifically for missions, with no other idea or objective. The missionary society brought together those who were committed to this idea and enterprise. This exclusive emphasis had an educational and promotional value and enabled those who were thus brought together to concentrate on the practical expression of their convictions.

This organization defined the principles and the fundamental ideas for most effective missionary work, and thereby emphasized these principles for thoughtful Christians. Their motives were correct. These they defined as: the need of the heathen; loyalty to the essential spirit of Christianity; the glory of God in the development of His Kingdom; the authority of the command of Christ as expressed in the Scriptures. These men had a wholesome respect for denominational convictions, and believed that effective work depended in measure upon agreement in the views and forms of the religion which they would offer to men of other faiths. It was not sectarian bigotry, or doctrinal narrowness that caused them to form their own organization, but a sound recognition of the necessity for agreement of those who would walk together. English Baptists have always had a broad catholicity of feeling and practice toward their fellow-Christians. Their wisdom in forming an organization of their own communion was justified in the subsequent history. The London Missionary Society, only three years later, was begun on the non-denominational basis and sought to ignore all creedal lines, but the course of missions led along ecclesiastical lines and left the London Society as the channel for Congregational ("Independent") effort. Thus the founders at Kettering set forth their programme: "As in the present divided state of Christendom it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great ends of a mission, it is agreed that this society be called 'The Particular Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.'"

Missions now became a distinctively Christian enterprise, dependent at all points and in all ways upon the Holy Spirit active in believing Christians for its support and its success. It had no political or commercial or other secular relations to help or to hinder. It was a Christian undertaking free from all entanglements. Only those were connected with it who were committed to it. It was based on individual responsibility. Here was a missionary society, autonomous and responsible within itself. Not even did the Northampton Association of ministers undertake it, nor the Baptist churches. Membership was individual and conditioned on participation in the support of the work. "Every person who shall subscribe ten pounds at once, or ten shillings and six pence annually shall be considered a member of the Society." Auxiliary societies were formed immediately, beginning with one in Birmingham; and two months later

it was provided that two delegates from each auxiliary should sit in the annual meetings of the society.

In no case did an ecclesiastical organization begin this missionary movement. In every church it would have been found impossible to win official or majority approval of the missionary idea, and especially its practical undertaking. It was long after that the churches officially incorporated missions into their schemes of responsible activities, and longer still before this ranked as one of the major interests of the churches. Even yet some even of the larger denominations provide for world evangelization hardly more than the crumbs that fall from the table of the home interest children.

Once organized for missionary work, the Baptist Society's next step was to find missionaries. Naturally, they turned to Carey. In the face of difficulties and obstacles which would have prevented any but the most heroic of souls, and which rationally would seem to make it his duty to remain at home, Carey went, in 1793, to India. His own choice had been Tahiti, about which he knew more and which appealed to him through the romantic glamour of Cook's descriptions. In the providence of God he had to go to the populous and strategic India, because the only companion available was a certain John Thomas, just then home in London after five years in India, and eager to go again to India, and nowhere else. Thomas was an erratic, emotional soul with a fatal propensity for contracting debts, yet a deeply religious man whose heart responded passionately to the need of the ignorant and superstitious idol-worshippers in India. Already he had learned the language and preached and taught. He had gone out as a ship's surgeon and remained in India, both to avoid pressing creditors and out of desire to preach to the heathen. He was athrill with finding his fellow-Baptists ready to begin the support of missions and keen to associate himself with them. But it was only India for him; and thus the great pioneer was led to set his light upon a lampstand in a large room and not in a dark corner of an out-of-the-way place.

When Carey came into his personal experience of religion and began his testimony for his Master, he began to study to equip himself for intelligent ministry. In the ten years between his conversion and his going to India, all the while compelled to earn a living for his growing family, and that often of the most meagre, he learned Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French and Dutch, besides carrying forward his knowledge of botany and kindred nature studies, in which he had been interested from early boyhood. We must pass over his problems with an illiterate wife whose sanity was not uniform and who refused to go with him; the opposition of his Harvey Lane church at Leicester, which was ready to pray and give money, but by no means prepared to give up their pastor for the sake of the heathen; his troubles with John Thomas' debts; the refusal of the East India Company to book missionaries or consent to their meddlesome settlement in their territory. It is an engaging story and instructive for that the Lord delivered him out of all his troubles and brought him at length to India with his wife and children; brought him,

to be sure, into fresh troubles, but delivered him out of them all, for he was a man with a stout heart, a heroic temper, a genius for "plodding" in endless labours; brought him into exactly the best place at that moment for developing and demonstrating the principles and the technique of missions to non-Christian peoples. His life and labours for thirty-nine years, with never a return to England, offer to students a rich laboratory record, as they constituted at the time a compelling demonstration of the duty and the effectiveness of an enterprise for making the world Christian. Carey had become the inaugurator of a new and apparently final period of Gospel expansion. It was not merely that he was a pioneer, but that his pioneering was characterized by convincing wisdom and demonstrating effectiveness. An English Bishop of Bombay (Mylne, *Missions to Hindus*, quoted in Robinson, p. 83), after summarizing his work, says: "I should hardly be saying too much did I lay down that subsequent missions have proved to be successful, or the opposite, in a proportion fairly exact to their adoption of Carey's methods."

OTHER BRITISH SOCIETIES

Once the way was pointed, there was speedy following up of the beginning. The voluntary association of interested individuals was shown to be the effective precipitant for the sentiment of missionary expansion so extensively in solution in the various churches of Christendom. Organizations followed fast upon the lead which had been given. The London Missionary Society was first, September, 1795. It was constituted with high enthusiasm as an inter-denominational agency, some of those who came together for the purpose rejoicing quite as much in the wider fellowship of Christians as in the thought of saving the heathen. Tahiti was their first field, to which, in 1798, they sent a group of above thirty, all told, including men of every trade necessary to a self-containing colony. Most of these were ill prepared for the undertaking, and had no adequate sense of the nature and difficulties of the work they were to do. Deaths, sickness, desertions tried the faith of missionaries and society. But they proved equal to the strain, and finally made a success of even this unpromising beginning and went forward into new fields. The inter-denominational experiment was not wholly successful, and the London Society—one of the greatest—came to be the organ of the Congregational churches, but has always conducted its work on the principles of a broad catholicity.

Societies were organized in both Glasgow and Edinburgh (later called the Scottish) in 1796, ultimately to be absorbed in the operations of the Scotch churches, by 1847. Their first work was in West Africa.

In 1799 representatives of the "Low Church" wing of the Church of England formed a "Society for Missions to Africa and the East," the name of which was, in 1812, changed to "The Church Missionary Society." It proved to be one of the very foremost of all in extent of work, number of missionaries and financial investment. It lacked the favour of the ecclesiastics at first. No bishop identified himself with it till 1815, and only nine up to 1840. The able and godly Henry Venn won its recog-

dition as an agency of the Church in 1841. In 1815, this society opened a missionary seminary at Islington in which hundreds of missionaries have been trained. The "High Church" element found in the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" an instrument already available. From its centenary, 1801, its work among the heathen received the emphasis rather than, as before, the work among colonials.

In 1804 a colporteur of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge told to a group meeting in a "public house" in London the story of Mary Jones, a Welsh servant girl who at great pains had at length saved money enough to buy a Bible in her own tongue; how she had made a long journey on foot to buy it, only to be told that the agent had but one copy left, and that he was saving for a purchaser who had already paid the money for it; how, upon Mary's weeping in her bitter disappointment, he had let her have this one Bible, trusting that its purchaser would be willing to forgive him and wait for another to be gotten. It was proposed to form a society for providing Bibles for all in the British Isles who might desire them. One of the company—Hughes—said, "And if for Britain, why not for the world?" It was agreed. The British and Foreign Bible Society was the result. Thus came into being the agency that has put the whole Bible, the New Testament, or some part of it, into the languages of a large part of the human race. It has produced translations in not fewer than five hundred tongues, for a great majority of which it was necessary to invent alphabets and to introduce the tribes for the first time to writing. In this way the beginnings of civilization were made for hundreds of backward groups of mankind. There is nothing more romantic, more heroic or more significant for civilization than the work of producing and distributing the Scriptures by this society. Nor is there conceivable a more powerful proof of the truth and power of the Christian religion than the library and museum of the products of this organization in Fleet Street, London.

The Wesleyans were relatively late in organizing their missionary society, 1814. This was not because of lack of zeal. In Thomas Coke this body of evangelistic Christians had, all in one man, a mission board, secretary, treasurer, superintendent, solicitor. From 1779 the Wesleyans made the American frontier their mission field. In 1786, under the lead and patronage of Coke, they entered the British West Indies; Africa in 1811. He was just about to open work in Ceylon when he died, at the age of seventy-six, having crossed the ocean eighteen times in his missionary journeys. His Church now had to organize to carry on the work he had inaugurated. Unfortunately, not all the Wesleyans co-operated, but formed a half dozen or more societies for work in various directions.

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society began in 1841, and the London Medical Missionary Society in 1878.

One of the missionaries of the Edinburgh Society, after some five years in China, became one of the foremost missionary founders and leaders of modern times, James Hudson Taylor. The realization that in only six of the eighteen provinces of China was there any spokesman for Christ weighed upon his conscience until he was led, in 1865, to found

an agency for occupying these neglected provinces. The China Inland Mission was a notable movement. Mr. Taylor realized that no existing organization could undertake this task. All were strained to finance what was already undertaken. No one denomination could be asked to assume this burden. He was utterly opposed to debt, personal or corporate, and was convinced that religious work should be conducted on the basis of faith, sacrifice and cash payments. His dominating motto was to "move men through God by prayer alone." He insisted that spiritual qualifications are supreme for the missionary. Hence he planned an extra-denominational organization that would enlist Christian men and women regardless of church affiliation; missionaries would trust God and accept such compensation as should be provided, and in no case incur debt, either personal or as an obligation of the mission; the plans and needs would be made known to the friends of the missions, who would be asked to unite in specific prayer for these specific needs; the organization and operation in China would rigidly safeguard the principles of the mission and provide for ecclesiastical differences of the missionaries. There were some vagaries, and the task proved more difficult than could be foreseen; but the ends were ultimately achieved and the mission exerted a tremendous influence on the missionary thought of the period. After fifty years, all the provinces had been at least partially occupied, one thousand missionaries were engaged and fifty thousand converts had been accounted for. The Mildway headquarters of the mission became a centre of power for evangelical and evangelistic Christianity.

The unique H. Gratton Guinness and his family followed the general principles of the China Inland Mission, besides enlisting his own great fortune in the East London Institute, which trained workers by the hundreds and conducted mission work on the Congo, work which was later turned over to the American Baptist Missionary Union.

From 1878 the Salvation Army entered the foreign field, and has continued in a line of work similar to that in which it has so notably served in Christian lands.

British women have from the first been active in their interest, and from about 1840 have had auxiliary organizations.

This summary of British response to the call of missions cannot mention any but the outstanding facts and features. Until the twentieth century British Christians were the leaders of Christendom in this world work.

ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

American Christianity was in close touch with that in Great Britain. The thrill of the new movement was quickly felt in the United States. It might have been expected that in the freer atmosphere of the newer conditions such a movement would find initiation. But there were pressing problems of nation building, the religious appeal of a rapidly expanding frontier, and the wide reaches of territory with poor facilities for communication. Then there was, especially, the preoccupation with home concerns and the national policy of avoiding, as far as might be feasible, all international relations. On the other hand, the missionary work on

the frontiers and among Indians prepared the way, as did the great revivals that swept the country, and the union with British Christians in the concerts of prayer in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In Great Britain the prayer calls explicitly included world-wide evangelization petitions. These calls awakened immediate reactions in America.

William Staughton, from London, was present at both the Northampton Baptist meetings in 1792 and contributed half a guinea to the offering at the formation of the society, borrowing the money. He was a young student preacher from another association, and so did not become a member of the organization. The next year he went to Philadelphia and became at once a bond of sympathy between his brethren on opposite sides of the sea and a promoter of the missionary idea among American Baptists. A Dr. Rogers, in Philadelphia, was appointed to receive gifts for the work of the English Baptist Society as early as March, 1793, and was able from time to time to transmit considerable sums. Carey wrote from India to American Baptists, and his letters to his own society were sometimes reproduced in the United States.

The sermons and addresses upon the occasion of the founding of the London Society were distributed in a special American edition, and correspondence with various leaders in the United States was carried on by leaders of missions in England and by missionaries on the fields. Cooperation with this society began promptly and continued. The feeling of oneness with the English movement is indicated by the election, in 1804, of the president of the London Society an honorary trustee of the Massachusetts Missionary Society. Prayer unions, public meetings and private praying in behalf of the work of the London Society became prevalent in New England. The founding of Andover Theological Seminary, in 1806, looked definitely to the preparation of men for missionary service as one of its objectives.

To Samuel John Mills, Jr., falls the honour of leading definitely to organization for independent and responsible undertaking of the work in the United States. He was the son of a Connecticut home missionary, who was sometime editor of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine. Praying for two years that God would give her a son who should be a foreign missionary, his mother accepted him as God's answer and dedicated him to this purpose, which she did not conceal from him as he grew. She told him about Eliot, Brainerd and other missionaries. He came to feel that no cause in life "would prove so pleasant as to go and communicate the Gospel of salvation to the poor heathen." Going to Williams College, in 1806, he soon found a small group of kindred souls with whom to study and pray about the heathen and their need. How this group of young men in their hay-stack prayer-meeting, in 1808, were led to commit themselves definitely and form a band "to effect in the person of its members a mission to the heathen," is well known. The centennial of this act was celebrated by the dedication of a memorial shaft on the site of the hay-stack. They wrote their constitution in cipher because "public opinion was against them," and they might be "thought rashly impudent, and so should injure the cause we wish to promote." By

personal interviews with leaders in the ministry; by correspondence, even with the London Missionary Society; by "deputation work," as the modern phrase has it; by procuring the publication and circulation of missionary sermons and addresses, these young students prepared the way for definite action. Meantime, in 1809, Mills, Richards, Hall and Rice go to Andover and are joined by Nott, Newell and Judson. With the encouragement of members of the faculty of Andover Seminary, they procured a conference of ministers in Boston, June 25, 1810, which advised petitioning the General Association of Massachusetts to become responsible for sending them out to the heathen. The association was meeting in Bradford, June 26. This move resulted in the organization, on June 29, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It was not until 1812 that the faith of the elders was equal to the actual sending out of the first representatives. In February of that year five were sent and four wives, to India.

Mills did not go. But he became a great promoter of the work at home. His leadership brought about the Cornwall Mission School for Indians; the United Foreign Missionary Society; a school in New York for the education of Negroes; the American Colonization Society, which promoted the movement that produced the colony and republic of Liberia; and, greatest of all, the American Bible Society, 1816, second only to the British and Foreign Society, as a factor in the work of missions and civilization.

The American Board grew rapidly as an agency for foreign work, and located missions in many quarters. While brought about in connection with the Congregational body, it was open to all Christians and was the agency especially of Presbyterians, even so late as 1871. It has been unsurpassed thus far in the United States as a promoter of successful missionary work.

It was a great shock for the American Board to get a message from India in a few months that two of their missionaries had united with the Baptists and were no longer able to represent the board. While some of the members were bitter in their denunciation and published some severe words of censure, on the whole the board accepted the disappointment with Christian grace. Judson and Rice, independently on their long voyages to India, were preparing to face the English Baptist missionaries by study, with the use of their Greek New Testaments, all matters pertaining to baptism. Judson arrived first, and after full conference and consideration felt bound in conscience to accept immersion along with his wife. Rice also reached India with misgivings, and under a sermon by Judson was constrained to follow his lead. Here there were three American Baptists in India for missionary work, with no home authority or support. England and the United States were at war. Americans could not be accepted by the English Baptist Society as their missionaries. Besides, the English Baptists felt that this was a providential demand for the organization of American Baptists. Since he was unmarried, Rice proposed to return and organize support for the Judsons. Before going to India, Judson had advised Dr. Baldwin, of New York, that Bap-

tists should organize. Rice found in Baldwin, and in Staughton, of Philadelphia, men ready to help. Letters from both Carey and Judson reached Boston in February, 1813, just one year after Judson's sailing. "The intelligence spread (among Baptists) with electric rapidity, and gave to benevolence and Christian obligation a depth and fervour never before experienced. One sentiment of deep thanksgiving prevailed. The providence was too plain to be mistaken. The way had been opened, the field had been prepared, the true-hearted must enter and prosecute that to which they had been summoned." In May, 1814, there met in Philadelphia twenty-six ministers and seven laymen from eleven states and the District of Columbia and formed the "General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions," which purpose seven years later was further defined by adding, "and other important objects relating to the Redeemer's Kingdom." Rice reached home a few months later and became the devoted and tireless agent of the convention for all the rest of his labourious life. Here was the beginning of the Baptist denomination of America, as a unified body with a corporate consciousness, a product of the missionary idea and aim.

For a number of years these two and the Bible Society were the only general organizations in America. Episcopalians formed their Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in 1820, but co-operated closely with the organization of the Mother Church in England, and not until 1830 began sending their own missionaries directly to foreign fields. Presbyterians found the American Board sufficient channel for their interest until 1837; the Dutch Reformed until 1857; and the German Reformed until 1865. Methodists began definite work among American Indians in 1819 and took up foreign missions in 1833.

Controversies over slavery and political principles produced divisions in various denominations between North and South, resulting in separate organization for mission work, Baptists 1845, Methodists 1846, Presbyterians 1861. Women began to organize for instruction and for raising money as early as 1800. In 1830, the Female Foreign Mission Society, New Haven, sent Mary Reynolds to Smyrna. Women's organizations have developed in most of the denominations, either working through, or closely co-operating with, the general agencies of their denominations. Definite and extensive organization of women began in 1868. In the twentieth century we see the beginnings of woman membership on the general boards.

It is obviously not possible even to mention the organizations of the numerically minor denominations so numerous in America; nor the numerous independent and special organizations, many of them ephemeral.

It was only natural that Canadian Christians would co-operate at first with the organizations of the mother country. After the middle of last century, with the growth in numbers and the growing Canadian self-consciousness, denominational organizations arose in nearly all the denominations.

ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

Germany failed to maintain the position of leadership which it took in the early advocacy of missions, and the formation of missionary societies

was not only delayed in the modern era, but had a somewhat erratic development. Halle remained a centre of evangelical fervour and of interest in world evangelization, but was not unaffected by the sea of rationalistic thought by which it was surrounded, and failed very widely to influence the settled formalism which afflicted the State Church. The East Indian Missionary Institute, which grew out of the Danish-Halle Mission, finally gave up sending missionaries, but had an income with which it gave aid to the Gossner and Leipzig Societies when they came into operation. The Moravians continued to afford an avenue of approach to the heathen world that interested German Christians. When the movement for organization got well under way in England, German Protestantism followed the fashion. From the first there were many Germans to work with the British missions until they developed their own. More attention was given in Germany than elsewhere to training missionaries, and a number of schools arose for this purpose. German interest also manifests more of individualism and eccentricity, sometimes generating rivalry and conflict. The first seven societies were inspired by Pietism, as might have been expected. No one general society for the Lutheran body has even yet been formed. Germany, coming so late into the field of world empire, lagged behind Great Britain, and once in the field of world politics was too concerned with making good her delayed "place in the sun" to participate full strength in world-wide evangelization. After 1870, and especially after 1885, interest in colonial missions was responsible for a number of Provincial Missionary Conferences and other forms of activity. The four most important normal organizations, in order of their entrance upon actual foreign missionary work, may be mentioned. The "German Society for the Promotion of Pure Doctrine and True Godliness," founded in 1780, was just in time to be interested in the rising enthusiasm in England for a world Christianity. In 1815 this society founded in Basel an institute which trained eighty-eight missionaries for the Church Missionary Society (of England), and from 1816 published a missions quarterly. In 1822 it began to send its own missionaries, and has remained a major factor in this work. A call, issued in 1823 by ten Lutheran leaders, for "charitable contributions in aid of Evangelical Missions," resulted in a society in Berlin which has continued as an important factor. A prayer union, formed in Elberfeld in 1799, produced, in 1828, the Rhenish Society, which came to be second only to the important Basel Society. A small organization in Dresden, 1819, began a preparatory missionary school in 1832, developing, in 1836, into a missionary seminary, in which year the organization began to send missionaries. It was transferred to Leipsic in 1848 and took the name of that city. It was ambitious to become the general society for the entire Lutheran Church in Germany. As in other countries, Germany continued to produce small organizations for special interests or as exponents of special ideas. Three organizations that arose under individual leadership are instructive in the history and science of missions. "Father Jaenicke, of the Bohemian Church, in a school in Berlin, trained missionaries who went out under English and Dutch societies. He became a director of the London Missionary Society. In 1836

Gossner founded a society popularly called by his name, but known also, more accurately, as Berlin II., to distinguish it from the older and more normal organization. It emphasized self-support by the missionaries, less expense in the conduct of the work, and less importance on the confessional qualification than was usual in the case of Lutheran societies. He was already sixty-three years old, but a vigorous, compelling personality, and gathered a large support. For more than twenty years he dominated his movement, being, as he said, "Inspector, House-father, Secretary and Pack-ass." For support, he "rang the prayer-bell rather than the begging-bell," and probably influenced the ideas of J. Hudson Taylor. After his death the society continued, but gradually dropped its peculiarities in favour of the normal functioning of a missionary society. Pastor Ludwig Harms, in 1849, founded the Hermansburg Mission. His idea was to send out self-contained colonies to plant Christian communities in the midst of the heathen. The plan attracted great attention for a time, but developed strife and met difficulties. His organization also came to be a normally working organization. Women formed societies from 1842 onward. The Pietistic temper of many Germans has made them especially sympathetic with the China Inland Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Quite naturally Dutch Christians formed organizations to follow up the work begun by the trading companies under state patronage. As early as 1797 Van der Kemp led in an organization in Rotterdam. Later a number of independent organizations grew up on the voluntary basis and the State Church took up missions as one of its functions.

Notwithstanding their relatively inferior numbers and other disadvantages, French and French-speaking Swiss Evangelicals formed in 1824 the "*Société des Missions Évangéliques*," popularly known for a century now as the "Paris Society." It has been notable among missionary agencies, especially in the last forty years of French colonial expansion, when British and German organizations were either barred from, or seriously hampered in, territory controlled by France. At first the society proposed only to procure funds, and in 1825 opened a school for training missionaries; but in 1829 began sending their own missionaries.

In general, in Scandinavian countries, as elsewhere in Europe, we discover two sets of movements, in the Established and in the Free churches. The adventurous spirit of these people and their spiritual fervour have caused the Scandinavians to volunteer most freely for missionary service, and they are found in the employ of almost all important organizations and in all parts of the world.

As British colonies developed, organizations for missions came into being and grew in importance, in Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere, as well as in Canada; and in this among the various denominations. In general these reproduced, on smaller scale, the conditions and plans of organization in the larger and older areas. They do not call for individual treatment in a work so limited as this must be. The same applies to the growth of missionary spirit and organization in the mission countries. Reference to these will appear in the outline of growth in the several countries.

OBJECTIVES, MOTIVES, PLANS

Within the missionary movement is to be found a variety and progress in the expansion objective corresponding in a general way to the motives and objectives of the secular expansion of Europe over the rest of the earth. Individual evangelization has been a very definite objective throughout, and must remain so, although the exact nature and the end of such evangelization have been differently conceived. The emphasis on enlisting the individual for eternal salvation in heaven has relatively lessened as the more immediate and present significance of following Christ has come into clearer understanding. "Snatching brands from the eternal burning" has lost much of its power of appeal—it may be too much—under a more meaningful definition of "becoming a Christian."

The geographical idea has operated in much of the expansion. "The knowledge of God should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." That any part of the world should be ignorant of God's supreme approach to the world in His Son was a dishonour to Him, a reproach to His Church and an infinite calamity for those in ignorance. If "the earth is the Lord's," "the kingdoms of this world" must "become the Kingdom of the Lord and his Christ." The modern movement was much influenced by an extensive interpretation of the petition of the Lord's Prayer: "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth." Latterly the emphasis veers to an intensive application of the petition. Both are essential to a right understanding and a worthy programme.

The motto of the Student Volunteer Movement adopted from the beginning was: "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." For thirty years this constituted a thrilling challenge to all the churches and worked powerfully in calling forth both volunteers for missionary service and support of the undertaking. Gradually a change came. The "generation" was passing and "the world" was not "evangelized." The insufficiency of any "evangelization" that could conceivably be accomplished in one generation came more and more to recognition in missionary thinking. The influence of certain millennial theories of history and of missionary work and objectives greatly lessened. It was seen by many that the task of any generation of Christians is to evangelize the world of that generation; that the people in the world of any period must be evangelized then or never; that history moves chiefly by the processes of social evolution; that Christ is at once the supreme factor in the evolution of the human race and the revolutionary force that alone can change the direction of social evolution where it is degenerate and laggard, and set it in the way of the goal of the Kingdom of God.

As this shifting of insights and emphases was progressing came the World War. With it came the disillusionments concerning "Christian nations," "Christian society," and all the complacent optimism that the evolutionary ideas of society had engendered in Christian thinking about the world's becoming Christian. During the war the machinery and the work of missions were of course much disarranged and sometimes completely disorganized. There has ensued a period of rethinking and recasting that is necessarily very extensive and very thoroughgoing. In

this many minds have been engaged, innumerable conferences, conventions, commissions and committees have been occupied. A new missionary statesmanship is in process of emerging. If there have been those who found amateurish occupation in the problems of statesmanship more congenial and less exacting and uncomfortable than the toil and endurance of actual missionary work, there have been, also, those whose efforts were under compulsion and direction of the Holy Spirit, and whose work is producing an increasingly wise guidance of the Christian undertaking in the new world conditions of this century.

MISSIONARY CONFERENCES

The advantages of conference and exchange of experience were seen in some measure from the beginning of the modern era. Friendly interchange was often profitable. Alexander Duff, Scotch Presbyterian missionary and Christian statesman in India, was the leader in bringing about formal conferences for study of the problems, methods and means in the growing work. The history of these conferences would constitute an illuminating approach to a modern science of missions.

It was in May, 1854, that a group of eleven missionaries, eighteen officers of missionary societies and others to the total number of about one hundred and fifty met in a New York church for a day and a half, considering the problems and methods of missionary work. Their chief topic was the relative advantages of the policies of concentration and diffusion in the conduct of the work—a question about which there is always difference of opinion, due partly to temperament, partly to ecclesiastical theory and partly to different conditions and environment in the spheres of work. Robinson, in his History, points out that Carey had at once seen and practiced the wisdom of planting Christianity as a permanent, constructive factor in the life of a country by building up strong centres, while he also studiously made these centres bases for as wide diffusion as forces and resources made possible.

This first conference aimed "to manifest the real unity of Christians, increase interest in the work and secure a more intelligent co-operation in carrying it on." It was gratefully recognized that there had been little interference in the work among various agencies, yet it was desirable that consideration be exercised in this regard as the work expanded and the workers increased in number.

In October of the same year a similar conference, called in London, was not so successful, only a few coming and the meeting being brief.

In 1860, in Liverpool, one hundred and twenty-nine members of a conference represented twenty-five British societies, included two American missionaries and dealt seriously and at length with a number of questions and made a contribution to the literature of missionary strategy with a volume of proceedings, covering four hundred and twenty-eight octavo pages.

The widening of interest and the deepening need for such conferences is evident in the Mildway (London) Conference of 1878. The sense of urgency was dominant, discussions dealing with details of the individual fields and with each in its relation to the world. The question was

prominently before the conference to define what could be hoped to be accomplished in the immediate future. Twenty-six British societies, six American and five Continental societies were represented, and the one hundred and fifty-eight members included two women—the first instance of this. A great popular meeting in Exeter Hall closed the conference.

We are by this time in a period when there was great awakening of popular interest among the churches in the work of missions. The upheavals and readjustments in political Europe stirred to new life. In the United States people were recovering from the Civil War aftermath. Stirring activities and transitions were moving in European interests in Asia and Africa. The Treaty of Tientsin, in 1873, made a new challenge for China. In the same year the ban on Christianity was removed in Japan. In Africa, Livingstone's death in 1873 and the subsequent burial of his body in Westminster Abbey, while his heart remained in the soil of Africa, fired Christendom into a flame of enthusiasm while European imperialism was reaching out to grab all the continent. In Great Britain and in the United States an era of evangelism was awakening a new mass interest under the lead of Henry Drummond and Dwight L. Moody and their numerous coadjutors.

Conferences were obviously necessary to any wise and harmonious meeting of the needs and opportunities. They were frequent within the different countries and among various kindred groups. The time was also at hand for periodical general conferences. In 1888 there was held in London the "Centenary Conference on Foreign Missions," June 9-19. In a general way the date marked the completing of a hundred years of modern effort. It devoted fifty sessions to a searching scrutiny of every department of missionary work and to the public record of the results. "The great object was to encourage the churches to press forward in obedience to the last command of Christ . . . and to confer on those numerous questions which the large expansion of the work had brought into the foreground." "Invitations were sent to all holding the 'common faith,' from the venerable parent 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' to the youngest of the family—the Salvation Army. And it is rather strange, and has been a source of great regret to the committee, that these two extremes of ecclesiastical order and evangelistic methods have stood aloof from the movement, even though it was in a spirit of 'benevolent neutrality.' With these exceptions, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and some minor organizations dependent on the S. P. G., 'every society in the British Isles entered cordially into the movement.'" (Report I: xi.)

The wide interest and deep enthusiasm for missions is reflected in the presence of one thousand five hundred and seventy-six persons, representing fifty-seven societies of the United States, fifty-three British, eighteen in Continental Europe, nine Canadian and two in British colonies. One hundred and eighty-three went from the United States, and thirty from Canada. There were four hundred and fifty-nine women.

The subject of "Missionary Comity" was presented in two elaborate papers and occupies fifty-nine pages in the report.

An important step was taken in Toronto in 1892, when the *Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System* planned for a conference in New York, in 1893, of all foreign mission societies in the United States and Canada. This was participated in by twenty-two societies and the Young Men's Christian Association, and organized the "Interdenominational Conference of Foreign Mission Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada." A similar organization was formed in Great Britain in 1911. Both these meet annually and maintain continuous service in established headquarters, for the benefit of all the participating organizations.

With the centenary celebrations of the various societies, beginning with the Baptist in 1892, the history of the work of each was prepared with care, and extensive study was made of the whole movement. Thus much material became available for scientific study of the motives, methodology and technique of missionary work.

In 1900 the Ecumenical Missionary Conference met in New York. It was more elaborate than any of its predecessors. It came in the midst of the Boxer Uprising in China with its anti-foreign bitterness; the Boer War in South Africa with its powerful influence over British imperial policy; the attainment of primary position among the nations by Japan, which in 1901 was formally recognized as one of the "five first class powers" of the world; the Spanish-American War, which besides reducing Spain to inferior rank projected the United States into world politics with a marked change from the historic policy of the nation in international affairs.

This conference sought to grapple with the enlarged and vastly more complex task now before the forces of Christian evangelization. It was evident now that new phases of nationalism would affect the work of missions. Also a second major factor would be the "Ethnic religions" which were taking on new life. Efforts were making to reform and modernize them and to check the progress of Christianity among their adherents. There was a growing demand for "comity" and "co-operation" among the forces seeking to deal with so challenging and complex a call to the Christian Church.

Looking forward to the next ecumenical missionary gathering, appointed for Edinburgh in 1910, eight commissions were appointed to study carefully and report formally and fully on as many phases of missionary need and strategy. Of special importance were the matters of Education in Missions; the non-Christian Religions; Relations of Missions to Governments; the Home Base; Unity and Co-operation. Dr. John R. Mott and other promoters of the conference conceived the idea of having the Roman Catholic Church officially participate in the conference. Failing that—as, of course, it must fail—they invited some Roman ecclesiastics to come in private capacity. One or two who agreed to come, later found it inconvenient to be present. There was not a little criticism of the promoters for confining the scope of conference consideration to work among non-Christians, excluding all work of Protestants for the evangelization of Catholics. This led to holding a Latin-American Conference in Panama, in 1916, to be followed by a similar but more comprehensive conference in Montevideo, in 1925.

The proceedings of Edinburgh were published in eight important volumes. The most important action was creating a "Continuation Committee" under the leadership of Dr. Mott. This committee undertook a series of Continuation Conferences designed to "carry Edinburgh to all the mission fields," and to provide a voluntary unifying and counselling supervision of all Protestant missions. This work had proceeded with numerous regional conferences in India, China and Japan, when the War made its continuance impossible. As the War dragged its tragic devastation through the years it became evident that the missionary work would call for reorganization and in large measure for reconstruction. Much had been suspended, some destroyed, all seriously affected. A self-constituted provisional emergency committee was doing what it could to save the situation and plan for the future. A volume was prepared and published, after careful study by a large number of the most competent missionary statesmen, undertaking to appraise *Foreign Missions in the Light of the War*.

There were those who thought to utilize the methods of unification, co-operation and merging of funds and forces, which had won the War for the Allies, in a stupendous campaign against the powers of sin and evil, and to take the world for Christianity by a great concerted compelling manifestation of devotion and idealism. It was a grand scheme, and an enormous energy and enthusiasm went into projecting the Interchurch World Movement. It proved a most disappointing fiasco, sinking millions of dollars in largely futile plans and efforts, and producing a lingering reaction of great detriment to the cause. The churches had to learn that Christ's Kingdom is "not of this world," that organization and money are not the chief instruments by which the Christ gains His redeeming hold on humanity.

In 1919 a small group of specially chosen men and women met by invitation at Lake Mohonk, New York, for an International Missionary Conference. Under the masterly leadership of Dr. Mott, this conference continued, with meetings in London, Basel, Oxford, etc. They were salvaging the worthy remnants of the Continuation Committee plans and programmes; studying world conditions; constructing a new statesmanship to meet the new situation. At length they were prepared for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Conference, at Easter, 1928. Two hundred and fifty representatives came together for two weeks and faced the world in the name of Jesus Christ and of human need. They defined the spiritual issues of the modern world with inspired penetration; outlined the problems and plans called for by the urgent opportunity and the determined opposition; and amazed themselves and mankind by reaching unanimous agreement in a statement of the Christian Message. The membership represented almost all the major missionary churches and agencies, all the major mission areas of the world, with the sending countries and the receiving countries represented on a common basis, the "older churches" and the "newer churches" counselling on a basis of complete equality and fraternity.

Maintaining offices in both New York and London, this International

Council is energetically seeking to stimulate, inspire, counsel and guide the whole evangelical movement to do the utmost for meeting human need in all the world with the full measure of the Gospel of the living Christ. This it aims to do without any but advisory and fraternal relationship and authority, and without any direct encroachment upon the autonomy and independence of any of the existing churches and their agencies. The eight volumes of the proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference are an authoritative conspectus of the world outlook for Christianity in 1928, and a source for materials for scientific study of the world conditions and of the Christian capacity for dealing with the conditions.

The Edinburgh Conference (1910) occasioned the inauguration of the *International Review of Missions*, published quarterly in London and distributed also from New York. This has been an arena for scientific, scholarly and statesmanlike discussion of the various aspects of the missionary work, reviews of the more serious and able books, the voluminous output of which is significant; and thus has played a large part in the working out of missionary science. Each number carries as a supplement the quarterly *Bulletin of the International Council*. A most important feature of the *Review* is the annual (January) survey of the progress of Christianity and its problems in all parts of the missionary world. Such surveys were formally given by the *Missionary Review of the World* (New York, monthly).

NATIONAL COUNCILS

Corresponding to these conferences in the homeland and the international, interdenominational assemblies representing the world, there has been a steady advance in co-operation in counsel and plans in the more advanced and larger missionary countries. India and China have been foremost here, but recently the Near East and Africa have called for conferences on a larger scale. The first general conference of missionaries was in India, in 1855. Japan had an annual conference from 18.. to .. The Centenary of Evangelical Missions in China was the occasion of an important Christian Conference in Shanghai, in 1907, promoted and directed mainly from the United States and Great Britain, but with generous place given to Chinese. The Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference promoted conferences of missionaries and nationals in all the major Asiatic sections and stimulated the growth of national Christian consciousness in each country. From the middle of the nineteenth century conferences of missionaries had become more and more important. By 1922, when a National Christian Conference was called in Shanghai, the time seemed ripe for constituting a National Christian Council, predominantly national in its membership and committed to the unification of the Christian forces and following in China in co-operation for evangelization, and in influence over the changing industrial, economic, political and social life of the country. Without any doctrinal formulation or ecclesiastical commitment, and with distinct denial of any intention to interfere with such matters, the council does undertake to represent "the Christian Church" in China and to promote its work, its influence on the life of

the nation and its progress; and to speak for Chinese Christianity in international conferences and matters generally. With offices and an extensive secretariat in Shanghai, this council functions in a powerful way. This is the model for a similar development in other countries. Such councils had definite place and representation in the Jerusalem Conference, and sustain very important relations with the International Council.

All this indicates the rapid advance in recent decades in the sense of unity of Evangelical Christianity and in the unification of its impact on the life of the world. The tendency toward organic union is evident within this movement of missionary unity, although those who would use the missionary agencies for co-operation in their efforts at organic unification have not been permitted to gain control. There remain as yet many unsolved problems and many questions to be answered before any formal union of Christendom can be undertaken. The convictions of a large part of the evangelical following stand firmly against any organic union that in any measure places power of control over belief or conduct of individual congregations in any central and superior body. "National Churches," in an organic sense, are repugnant to the democratic conscience of "free churches," and history confirms their position. There needs to be clarification of terminology to facilitate fraternity and co-operation in the Christian acceptance and discharge of the obligation to introduce Jesus Christ effectively into all the world for regeneration and reconstruction.

XII

INDIA

INDIA was the first field to be earnestly and successfully undertaken by Protestant missions—the Danish-Halle. It was again the field of Carey, to whom credit is universally given for inaugurating the present period of missions. Besides being the oldest of modern mission fields, India is made-attractive by Christian traditions running back to the Apostle Thomas and has had Christian churches since the second century, if not even in the first.

It has been the most extensively occupied of all countries in the modern era in the number and variety of organizations undertaking work within its borders and the number of lives devoted to its evangelization by Protestants. It affords the greatest number of converts to the Christian faith and the largest Christian census population—now above five million—to be found in any non-Christian country.

Next to China, it has the greatest number of human beings in any country. Its three hundred and twenty millions population are almost as numerous as all the inhabitants of all the Americas, plus the entire pagan population of Africa. These millions include several races—the basal stocks being reckoned by scientific students from three to five—with languages and dialects running into hundreds. These without taking account of relatively small numbers of Europeans, Chinese and other Asiatic immigrants. The Aryans (Indo-Germanic) have been the dominant race section for probably three thousand years, and some form of their language, which has three main branches, Sanskrit, Hindi and Marathi, is spoken by two-thirds of the people. Dravidians are in India an older race, and include a fifth of the whole in language, probably far more in racial history. A still more primitive element, formerly classed under the name Kohls but now confessed to be an unsolved puzzle, includes numerous smaller groups of “hill peoples” and depressed peoples in various sections, especially Burma and South India. The Mohammedan invasions brought in a strain mingled of Arabian, Syrian, Persian, Turanian and Mongolian elements, which in turn complicated its blood with Indian elements. If one seeks yet other racial factors, they are to find, no doubt.

Social and religious history and institutions afford the student as much variety and complexity as do the races and languages, and are of more immediate concern for missions. The dominant Hinduism, with two-thirds of the people as adherents, in its three thousand years of history, has undergone innumerable modifications, reformations, amalgamations, sectarian divisions. It has made place within its cults and worship for as many and as varied animistic practices and superstitions as the ignorant and unenlightened might bring with them, so long as the Brahmanic priestly headship and dignity were recognized and the laws of the elaborate caste

system of social organization were accepted and guarded. Besides six "orthodox" ways of salvation, the religious soul of India has elaborated literally hundreds of minor and local ways of seeking satisfaction for its spiritual hunger. These are all free to function, so long as caste is not broken and no attack is made on the exalted and regnant rule of the Brahmins or on the ancient beliefs and customs. Hinduism is supremely the "inclusive" religion of all history.

Mohammedanism's seventy million place them second in numbers, and they stand much more nearly on an equality with the Hindus in influence than their numerical proportion would suggest. Beginning somewhat before 1000 A. D., Mohammedan invaders came in waves into India through five hundred years, establishing themselves in political independence and dominance in various regions, especially in the northwest and later across the central part, until alien rulers had the most extensive and prosperous dominion Indian history has known from the days of Asoka to the rule of Britain. This exclusive religion coerced and attracted millions of converts, and continues to win accessions at a rate that, with the increase by birth, adds a million a year to its following. Still it is exclusive only as a system against other systems. It finds room within its order for wide variations of belief and practice, and has not escaped the Indian caste consciousness. Not only does Mohammedanism have to accept a sort of separate caste classification for its entire membership, but it has also incorporated caste divisions within itself, in spite of its theory of complete equality within the Moslem brotherhood. Its divisions are less inflexible than in Hinduism, but are far more clearly marked than such distinctions in the West.

Gotama broke for himself the Brahmanic oppression and the caste bondage and produced a religion of deliverance. It made more or less progress in India until the days of Asoka, the brilliant organizer and ruler of a largely unified India. This enlightened monarch was a devoted Buddhist, whose son became the leader of Buddhism's golden age of missionary aggressiveness which set forward the Buddha's gospel on a campaign which in a thousand years sent it to the furthest confines of Asia, until practically all Central Asia, China and Japan had come to seek hope for the future through its teaching and by worship in its temples. Meantime, with eight hundred years of royal favour, it prospered in India, but never without the resistance of the patrons of the mother faith, which it modified but could neither reform nor wholly displace. Then Brahmanism began to gain the ascendancy. Driving out some by persecution, incorporating far more by subtle assimilation, and with the aid of the rapidly growing Mohammedan power, Brahmanism succeeded in eliminating this Reformation Religion from the main peninsula, to which it is returning only in recent decades by means of missionary effort from Ceylon, with support from other lands. In Ceylon and in Burma, Buddhism was permanently established as the practically universal religion, but at the price of incorporating a mass of animistic superstitions, demon worship and idolatry unsurpassed in all history. Thus the third factor in the religious complexity of India. To this we must add Jainism, Sikhism, native reform move-

ments from the sixth century B. C. and the sixteenth A. D., and the remnant of ninety thousand Parsees, spiritual as well as blood descendants of the Zoroastrians. To it all we must add, still, numerous "modern religious movements," of which Farquhar described no fewer than fifty a quarter of a century ago.

The outstanding social fact of India is caste. To its four divisions a fifth is added in the outcastes, themselves one-sixth of the total population. Not only are these five divisions rigidly defined and guarded by the most inexorable regulations in all social relations, but each one is subdivided almost interminably, making literally thousands of traditionally inherited and religiously imposed social compartments into which all Hindus are fixed by birth for their entire lives. To illustrate the extent to which this fixation goes, the Brahmanic caste includes altogether only some fifteen million; yet they are subdivided into socially exclusive groups, of which the eminent Scotch missionary, Wilson, tabulated one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. One authority estimates that there are no fewer than a hundred thousand such separated groups within the social organism of India.

The second most important social fact is village life. After all the changes brought about in the modern progress in cities under British occupation, nine-tenths of the people still live in villages and towns, with a large measure of local group autonomy. India presents a rural problem for the Christian worker. Illiteracy is a third social fact. The combined efforts of Christian missions, the British educational system and the efforts of Mohammedan, Brahmo-somaj and other native groups, stimulated by Christian example, have succeeded in a hundred years only in reducing illiteracy from ninety-eight per cent to ninety per cent.

On its political side, India is of acute interest. Great Britain has, with however little of deliberate design, made possible—and inevitable—a national consciousness such as never existed in India in such degree until within the twentieth century. The *Swaraj* movement would have been quite impossible apart from the course of England, and equally impossible apart from the influences, direct and indirect, of Protestant missions. Gandhi himself, as leader of this movement, is a product of the spirit of India instructed, aroused and guided by the influences of Christian concepts and example. Through her long history, India's course has been determined by outside forces. The Aryan invasions set the course from ancient days. Alexander made concrete the Greek impact, which left a living element of progress and opened the way for repeated stimulating contacts with Europe. Various Mohammedan assaults began in 644 and culminated in Akbar's Mogul Empire in the sixteenth century, not to be completely subordinated until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the British found it necessary to suppress the various contenders for the throne. Europe's political encroachments were begun by Portuguese at Goa and on Ceylon around 1500, in protection of trade—shameful excuse for wide aggressions of ambitious nations. The Danes followed in 1616 at Tranquebar and Serampore. The Dutch took the Ceylon post from the Portuguese in 1651 and opened another post near Calcutta. The Brit-

ish East India Company, with its gigantic monopoly, proved a pioneer of empire for Great Britain through all the Far East. From 1613 to 1765 they were content with planting trading posts. As these prospered and the spirit of imperialism grew, colonies came gradually into permanence, calling for political backing. The upheaval of 1757, establishing British power and policy in the Battle of Plassey, left the company still to represent British interests. These were administered in close co-operation with the company's agents until 1858, when, following the terrible Sepoy Rebellion, the Crown and Parliament exercised direct rule over growing dominions; and in 1877 formally incorporated the Empire of India, proclaiming Victoria Empress of India. Gradually, through her growing occupation and evolving administration, Great Britain wrought unity out of age-long division and diversity. This was for her own advantage in her most important possession. But unification, enlightenment and progress grew a unitary consciousness in India, and so gave birth to nationalistic ambitions which, under the intense conditions of the twentieth century, became a flaming passion that will, if it can control itself, shortly lead to Dominion status within the great empire.

Thus India presents in principle every problem which Christian missions and a nascent national Christianity can face. It is a complete laboratory for testing all the principles and powers of the religion of Jesus Christ.

MISSIONS BEFORE CAREY

Behind William Carey and John Thomas, when they reached India in 1793, lay seventeen centuries of Christian effort in influence that had trickled into India in such thin, irregular and ill-defined streams as to afford nothing definite as a point of approach for the file leaders of a movement aiming at the Christianizing of an empire. Eighty-six years of Protestant effort through the Danish-Halle combination had accomplished results which by 1800 numbered thirty-seven thousand baptisms, with some twenty thousand still living in the churches. The giant personality of Schwartz still wielded tremendous influence as spiritual father, beloved of all missionaries, unofficial bishop of all the Lutheran churches, "Royal Priest of Tanjore" to native kings and heathen, counsellor, mediator and conscience for British administrators in their growing dealings with rajahs, nawabs and nizams. It was five years after Carey's arrival that Schwartz ended his labours, "able even on his deathbed to give utterance to many wise and spiritual counsels, which were for long treasured up in faithful hearts."

The Danish-Halle Mission was already losing its support at the home base. The Danish Government was being supplanted in India by growing British trade and political occupation, and would not support the work in a colony it was destined to lose. In Halle, rationalism was chilling the ardour of the missionary impulse. Support for the German workers in London was influenced by rising controversies along several lines and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge would continue its support for the most part only for literary work. By 1840 there would be left of this important pioneer Protestant mission only an endowment administered by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

The Moravian Brotherhood, from 1739 to 1803, projected a remarkable number of workers in efforts that were barren of any permanent results and little of even temporary success, largely because they were unable either to gain the sympathy of the Lutheran group in the older mission or to bring themselves to act independently. Thus in its first stages did sectarian rivalry hamper Protestant progress. Richter (p. 125) boldly charges against his own denomination that "all this splendid missionary force was crushed out of existence through pure (*sic!*) denominational jealousy."

The earliest Christian approaches to India come through such uncertain testimony, beginning with the traditions of the Apostle Thomas, that we know for certain only that up to about 340 there were certainly at least a few churches, some little literature, including at least the Gospel of Matthew, some participation in Christian counsels (Bostra), and consequently some infiltration of Christian influence into religious thought.

From 345, for about four centuries, there was an aggressive period of Syro-Persian Nestorian growth, stimulated in the first instance by immigration of Christians escaping the Persian persecutions which began a forty-year repressive campaign against Christianity. A similar period of persecution for thirty years, in the first half of the fifth century, stimulated the flow into India. These Christians, however, maintained their foreign character and imposed it upon their converts. Differences arose subsequently. The Mohammedans harassed them in later centuries; Roman Catholics further troubled them in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and finally the Church of England further divided them in the effort to bring them into its fold.

It is agreed by all competent scholars that in some way, in the first millennium, the Christian concepts of faith and sacrificial love as the great factors in religion became a powerful influence in religious thought and experience in India; and that along with these spiritual influences, even external facts in the life of Jesus were appropriated for describing certain of Vishnu's Avatars, notably Rama and, more extensively, Krishna. Thus we must account for "Christian" elements in the Ramayana and the Bhagavad-gita. Nor can we omit the reinforcement which both Jewish and Christian thought gave to the monotheistic tendency, which has had its history in India, as in all other lands.

From the middle of the thirteenth century, for about a hundred years (see Chapter VI), Franciscan and Dominican monks spent varying periods in India, exercised brief ministries at various points from Ceylon to North-east India, with slight results, save among the Syrian Christians. It was different when the Roman Catholics began a hundred and fifty years later. Politics and trade were primary motives with King John of Portugal when he sent two ambassadors to the East in 1487, in the effort to find facilities for communication. When Vasco da Gama completed his voyage to Calicut in 1498, East and West were connected in permanent relations. A new era was opened for Roman Catholic missions in India (see Chapter VII) which should thenceforward be continuous. Reaching very large numbers—two million five hundred thousand, according to some Catholic claims—by the end of the seventeenth century, this mission declined for more than a hun-

dred years, until revived after 1820. Richter's statement is an exaggeration that "nothing was left of it save ruins;" but it was not an active movement in 1793, and its influence was at the time more a handicap than a help to the new approach to India.

OPPOSITION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Carey and Thomas were not permitted to locate in Calcutta. The East India Company dominated British interests, and had no place in their scheme for missionaries. After a fight of twenty years, the new charter of 1813 required freedom and encouragement for missionary work. Compliance was difficult of enforcement, and the attitude of officers determined its measure until the company was displaced after 1857. Some agents and directors were notable for their sympathy, support and advocacy. The general attitude remained unfriendly.

Richter justly contrasts "the first Englishmen in India" under the famous East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth, December 31, 1600, with "their contemporaries, the devout Pilgrim Fathers of North America." "The traders who went to India did not concern themselves in the slightest degree with Christianity or Church. They set up harems, and in order to win favour in the eyes of their mistresses, they did not hesitate to worship their pagan gods. They spent eighty years in India before it occurred to them to erect the first Christian church."

It must be said, however, that some of the directors of the company were good and godly men, and that a few chaplains were sent to India, even as early as 1614, when one of them got hold of an Indian youth who two years later was baptized in London with much ceremony, as "Peter Papa," the first Indian Protestant. He seems not to have returned to India, but to have gone to Virginia. While chaplains continued to be sent out—we read of eighteen between 1667 and 1700—we do not read of any converts, of any real efforts to win them, until after the settlement of the issue of occupation with the French at Plassey and the horrors of the "Black Hole" had aroused the sleeping conscience of English Christians and had awakened all to some sense of the demand for a new attitude toward the natives.

Even so, it was not yet the company's chaplain, but a Swede, previously under the Danish-Halle Mission, who became active in Calcutta. He was responsible for the erection of the famous "Old Church," 1758, which is still in use. While he had some help, he expended some forty thousand dollars of his wealthy wife's money in the building, and it was thirty years before the second church building was provided in all Bengal. Even so, Kiernander was not a missionary to the Bengalese, but a minister for Europeans and Eurasians (then called "Portuguese"). In the twenty-eight years of his ministry, to his death in 1786, when he left a membership of three hundred and one, he and his helpers could claim to have baptized but eight Mohammedans and ten Hindus. They had not learned to preach in the vernacular.

After 1798, and especially as we turn from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, we come upon notable directors and chaplains who call for the evangelization of the natives and contribute to definite missionary

work. Among such directors were Sir Robert and William Chambers, George Udney, and especially Charles Grant, whose pamphlet, *Observations on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals; and the Means of Improving it*, although for the time buried in the archives of the company when presented to them in 1800, was brought forth in the fight over the terms for the new charter in 1813. It was then highly effective, both in determining the favourable terms of the charter and in arousing the missionary conscience in both Europe and America.

Of notable chaplains in India who took lead in the opening of missionary work at the time, Claudius Buchanan not only contributed considerable sums of money, but preached and wrote extensively. His sermon on *The Star of the East* was circulated in several editions on both sides of the Atlantic, and his *Christian Researches in Asia* had four editions in England and was translated in several continental languages. Another, whose brief life of thirty-one years, and missionary service of but six years, placed him as a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of influential missionary inspiration, was Henry Martyn. Winning high honours in Cambridge, he went to India as chaplain, in 1806. Crying, "Now let me burn out for God," he immediately extended his interest to the natives. He learned Hindustani, Hindi, Persian and Arabic. Within five years he had translated the New Testament and the Prayer Book into Hindustani. Conceiving that the followers of Mohammed were to wield a major influence in India, he turned attention primarily to Persian and Arabic. In 1811, partly in the interest of his shattered health, and in the interest of his mission, he set out for Persia. In ten months in Shiraz, in spite of torrid heat and an amazing number of personal and group interviews, he translated the New Testament and presented a specially bound copy to the king. Exhausted, he set out for home, but died at Tokat. He stands with Brainerd, Carey, and Judson as one whose heroic influence has led hundreds of young men to dedicate their lives to missionary service. Martyn's only known convert, Abdul Masih, was ordained by Bishop Heber, in 1826, the second Indian admitted to Anglican Orders.

The Baptist missionaries soon found it necessary to make their base in Serampore, where their statesmanship, heroism, self-sacrifice, hardships and success made that name famous in the history of Christian expansion. Here they carried on evangelism, educational work, translation, printing in ever growing volume, the beginning of a Christian literature. Hence they sent out missionaries to Benares, Agra, Delhi, and even Bombay, opened work at various stations in Bengal and Assam. Not content with this, they reached out to Burma, where Carey's son, Peter, was working when the Judsons came; on to the Moluccas and Java. With Carey's encouragement and with the patronage of Claudius Buchanan at Calcutta, Marshman procured the aid of some Chinese and others, and so prepared and printed in Chinese first the New Testament in 1811, and the entire Bible in 1822 or 1823.

CHANGING BRITISH ATTITUDE

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was already turning its

attention to the heathen, and soon began to place the emphasis there, while the Church Missionary Society naturally began early to interest itself in India. The Church of England was, however, slow to advance when the opposition was so powerful in official circles. Able chaplains of the company boldly led in changing the attitude in England, and were ably supported by religious leaders and statesmen. Wilberforce led a winning fight against bitter opposition in Parliament that resulted, in 1813, in a charter requiring the company "to encourage the introduction of useful knowledge and of religious and moral enlightenment into India, and in lawful ways to afford every facility to such persons as go to India and desire to remain there for the accomplishment of such benevolent purposes," as also it provided "for the erection and extension of an Anglican Episcopal Church in India." Still, the first Bishop of Calcutta (1814) was no enthusiast for missions, and ordination for missionaries of the Church Society was refused until Bishop Reginald Heber came into power in 1822, a notable missionary himself. The action of 1813 contemplated only British subjects in its provisions. It was under the next revision of the charter, which was granted for terms of twenty years, that organizations of other countries were free to operate. The Wesleyans began work in Ceylon in 1814, and at Trichinoholy in 1818, and pressed forward into many places. The Scotch Presbyterians, who first entered in 1822, were to play a great part in India missions. In John Wilson, Bombay, 1829; Alexander Duff, Calcutta, 1830; and John Anderson, Madras, 1837, they contributed three of the great statesmen of Christianity in India. From different angles and with theories widely differing, in some respects seriously conflicting, they all became pioneers of Christian education and proved the success of all their methods.

THREE GREAT EDUCATORS

Alexander Duff, rightly placed in the front rank of missionary statesmanship, came to India in 1830 with a new policy. It had three items: he would seek to influence the higher castes; by means of liberal education; using the English language. For thirty-three years he continued his course, proving his wisdom in the face of great initial opposition and criticism. By 1850 he was unsurpassed as a personal influence in the Christian world. His schools had trained a large number of men who gave new direction to Indian life and thought. He had exerted a tremendous influence over the education policy of the Government. By 1835 the Governor-General was announcing the official "desire to naturalize European literature and science and to foster English culture." Thence came departments of Public Instruction in each of the Presidencies and (1857) Government universities in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The "grants-in-aid" system of supporting mission schools came into operation, greatly enlarging the capacity of missions in education. The system is open to criticism and has not been without fault, but it has worked for the extension of education under Christian auspices in a degree indefinitely greater than could have been otherwise. Until 1854, all elementary education and practically half the high school students had been the responsibility solely of mission schools. Now the government schools

multiplied and made extremely difficult the conduct of unaided mission schools.

John Wilson, arriving in 1829, founded in Bombay what was developed under his hand into one of the great colleges of India, subsequently named for him. His plan was to use the native languages and to develop a native culture. He himself became one of the most efficient of all Sanskrit scholars. John Anderson, coming in 1837, was a third Scotch Presbyterian educational founder, building in Madras another great school. It was he and his converts and students who most powerfully opposed the policy elsewhere—Bombay in particular—of ignoring caste customs as they were brought over into Christian schools and churches. He won the fight in theory, in 1847, and in his own work rigidly put an end to all distinctions between Sudras and Pariahs.

These three men gave a set to Presbyterian missions which placed them first in educational influence in India; but they only stand *primi inter pares*. Schools, colleges and universities have enabled Christian missions to do an incalculable work in remoulding India. Mohammedan and Hindu have been stirred to emulation, and the Mohammedan university at Allahabad and the Hindu university at Benares owe their existence to the challenge of Christian education.

We have seen that the first missionaries began, with Bible translation, the creation of a Christian literature. This has now become extensive and includes much worthy work by Indian scholars. It includes a great variety of work, but it is obviously impossible to give any account of it here. Naturally, an adequate Christian literature must be chiefly the product of native experience and scholarship, and must wait for a larger native Christian consciousness.

We must not overlook the indirect efforts of missionary scholarship, first in stimulating the European and, later, American scholarly studies of religions, philosophies, languages and literatures of India; and, second, in arousing Hindus to scholarly study of their own treasures. Of such study there was next to none until it was induced by missionaries and by foreign scholars who were led to it through missions.

The American Board chose India as their first field, but their missionaries were unwelcome in British territory in 1812, and limited the form and extent of their work in Bombay and Ceylon until later. Judson could not remain in British territory at all after identifying himself with the Baptists, and went on to Rangoon to found what came to be one of the most successful missionary undertakings, after long years of severest hindrances and hardships.

When the new charter of 1833 "opened up Indian trade to all nations, it opened up Indian missions to all churches;" and that opening was eagerly entered. American Congregationalists and Baptists, already modestly present, greatly extended their operations. Presbyterians and Methodists were not far behind, and were destined to play highly important rôles. Dutch Reformed and others from America came along.

COMPREHENSIVE MISSIONARY UNDERTAKING

Thus India offered a field for romantic adventure with the Gospel that

powerfully appealed to the imagination of Protestant Christendom, at last aroused to this duty. It was not easy work, but its importance was challenging. From the start it was apprehended that the task must be social as well as evangelistic. The social structure of India was weighted down with customs intolerable for the Christian spirit and incompatible with even the first stages of Christian society. These must be changed if Christianity was to advance. Education was a dire need. Medical missions were inescapable. The suppression of women in Zenanas, the sacrifice of widows on husbands' funeral pyres, the appalling condition of child widows doomed to unrelieved shame and abuse, the marriage of children, these were only the more glaring evils, besides the imprisoning walls of the complicated caste. Carey and his associates led the way. He continues to amaze the world with his achievement in Bible translations, all or parts of the Book going into no fewer than thirty-four languages under his hand. The schools, printing presses, agricultural leadership were part of a comprehensive effort to plant an effective Christianity. He distinguished himself in the Chair of Languages in the East India Company's Fort William College (1801), and ably co-operated with Christian leaders and statesmen at home and in India to bring about laws to relieve the worst abuses. It was only after long years of effort that, on a Sunday morning, the Government prohibition of Suttee came to Carey from Lord Bentinck. It must be translated for proclamation. Knowing that in Bengal alone six hundred widows were burned every year, he laid aside his preaching coat, sent a helper to preach in his stead, and sat down at once to the task of stopping this cruelty. This was in 1829. It was followed by forbidding drowning children in the sacred rivers, exposing sick and aged on the banks of the Ganges, self-immolation under the Juggernaut cars, hook swinging, and by rigid suppression of the caste of Thugs, who strangled their victims as devoted to Kali. Then, in 1833, Lord Glenelg decreed an end to the established policy of the company of patronizing, protecting and profiting by taxing idolatry. Christian missions was thus from the beginning stimulating and aiding in humanizing the life and in effecting social reforms, a career through which progressively the social ideals and the very structure of society are being changed.

Yet the missionaries did not neglect their first responsibility, nor forget that the foundation of all effective efforts to change a civilization lies in the Gospel of regeneration and moral reconstruction of individual life. The village and caste units of life in India combined with family solidarity to make it extremely difficult for individuals to accept Jesus Christ and to identify themselves with a Christian church. The vast multitudes were living on so low a plane of poverty, ignorance and superstition as to make intelligent response to any Gospel calling for radical break with custom, tradition and habit difficult for the people, when to such a great degree their conduct was chiefly reflex action with a minimum of volition.

THE MUTINY AND A NEW ERA

The Mutiny of 1857 marks a turning-point in India's history and in the course of Christianity in modern India. Not only did it occasion a

radical change in British relations with India, but was a turning-point in imperial purpose and in methods of administration. Missionary work was seriously upset, much property was destroyed, some churches disrupted, antagonism to Christianity aroused as a part of resentment against foreign occupation and control. Yet it is possible to record striking success in the Christian movement up to this crisis. There are no available statistics for the Mutiny year. In 1851 there is a fairly definite census, and another in 1861, when recovery from the demoralization of the Mutiny was accomplished and the new advance was beginning.

In Burma, until after the second war with Great Britain (1853), the Baptists were the only evangelical force, having laboured since the Judsons located in Rangoon, in 1813. Roman Catholic work, begun in connection with a forcibly established trading station, in 1603, had but meagre results, and these were destroyed in the First Burmese War (1823-4), and not successfully re-established until after 1854.

Thus we find in the Peninsula, in 1851, three hundred and thirty-nine missionaries, twenty-one native pastors, two hundred and sixty-seven churches with fourteen thousand six hundred and sixty-one communicants, ninety-one thousand and ninety-two professed adherents, one hundred and twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty-six students in schools. In Burma, in 1852, there were sixty-two missionaries, seven thousand eight hundred and seventeen church members; in Ceylon the adherents were eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine. In 1861 the census shows for Ceylon fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy-three adherents, in Burma fifty-nine thousand three hundred and sixty-nine, in India one hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, total two hundred and thirteen thousand three hundred and seventy-three. For Peninsular India there were now four hundred and seventy-nine missionaries, ninety-seven native pastors, two hundred and ninety-one churches, twenty-four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six communicants, one hundred and fifty-three thousand four hundred and thirty-six school students, of all grades.

This occupation was thus far not distributed throughout India, although all the major divisions had been entered. In Ceylon it was as yet confined to the northern section, in Burma to a few centres, but already reaching out mainly to the Karens. In the Peninsula the Madras Presidency had four-fifths of all adherents and Bengal four-fifths of the remainder. In the Northwest Provinces a good beginning had been made, while the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces had as yet but a few hundred, and only ninety-eight are found in the Punjab. In all, there was marked advance between 1851 and 1861.

FIRST MEDICAL MISSIONS

Dr. John Scudder, of the Reformed Church, graduating in medicine and with an exceptionally promising future in practice of his profession with his highly successful father in New York, "chanced" upon Gordon Hall's tract, *The Conversion of the World*, and was stirred to consecrate his life to ministry to the physical needs of India's ignorant millions. Against all entreaties and to the deep disappointment of his family and friends, he

"buried himself" in India—Ceylon, Madura, Madras, Arcot. This was in 1819, when the American Board sent him. He was the first Protestant medical missionary in any land, inaugurating thus what came to be so very important in subsequent development. He not only distinguished his family name, but transmitted his spirit so that the Scudder family is one of the most noted in the annals of missionary and religious work in modern times. All eight of his sons, and several of his grandsons and granddaughters followed his lead in mission work, even to the present day and to the fifth generation.

From this time medical missions came to have more and more importance. Then, in 1857, Dr. Clara Swain went to India, and in 1860 was formally appointed by the American Methodist Board, the first woman medical missionary in history. She was located in northern India. Thus began special medical aid for women.

SOCIALLY REVOLUTIONARY METHODS

In Serampore, Mrs. Marshman and Mrs. Ward had taken much interest in elementary education, and had made a beginning in teaching girls. In 1819 they effected the *Calcutta Female Juvenile Society for the Education of Native Females*, aiming chiefly at the instruction of girls, of whom it has been estimated—upon what authority it is not possible to say—that not more than four hundred in all India were able to read. A girls' school was opened in 1820. Also in 1819 the *Calcutta School Society* was formed to undertake schools of all grades for the neglected classes. In the Calcutta community, with a population of seven hundred and fifty thousand, there were only four thousand one hundred and eighty in school. The organization founded by Joseph Lancaster, in London, noted especially for its work in South America, was enlisted, and in 1821 sent Miss Cooke to India, the first unmarried woman missionary. When the *Calcutta School Society*, to whom her services were offered, found that she would insist on establishing girls' schools, they would not accept her, because "the superstition was general that educated women made disobedient wives and that husbands of girls who could read were most liable to die." All sorts of objections were raised to "such an unheard-of revolution." Miss Cooke was consequently employed by the Church Missionary Society, and was for many years a leader in the revolutionary blessing. Of course, the outcome is the general recognition of the desirability of female education and ever-extending provision for it.

In 1854 began another innovation of the greatest moment. It had been suggested fifteen years earlier. John Fordyce and his wife engaged a Eurasian, Miss Toogood, and a Bible woman, and gained for them access to the women in the Zenana of a member of the Tagore family. Fordyce is said to have remarked: "This is the beginning of a new era for the daughters of India." Numerous organizations undertook such work, and the idea was extended to other countries. In 1860, Mrs. Doremus brought about the formation of the *Women's Union Missionary Society*, New York, to conduct missions especially to women in various lands; and Miss Britain showed rare genius in promoting the organization of the missions.

That Carey comprehended in his sympathies and plans the whole Chris-

tian scheme has been evident in this story. We are not surprised, then, to find him founding the first refuge for lepers, of whom India has so many, certainly more than one hundred thousand. Others followed the example. About 1850, leper asylums on more extensive and scientific lines were founded. Then, after 1868, Wellesley Bailey led in developments which culminated, in 1878, in a general non-denominational mission to lepers. The Government of India was led to undertake researches and provision for the treatment and care of these unfortunates. It is well known how, later still, the chaulmougra oil treatment was developed by experiment in India and in London.

By the Mutiny, Christianity was a vigorous redeeming and progressive force in India with growing work along all lines and with ever-increasing influence.

GREAT ADVANCE AFTER THE MUTINY

After the Mutiny there was an enlarged sense of responsibility for the religious and ethical interests of India on the part of British Christians. The Church Missionary Society was in position of peculiar responsibility and opportunity, to which it responded with great enlargement of its work. The Viceroy and the provincial governors were usually churchmen, and just at this stage a remarkable number of them were earnest Christians and greatly encouraged Christian work. The strong effort of the missionary group to induce Parliament to provide for formal government support of Christianity in India fortunately (as one may believe) failed. Nevertheless, the so-called "neutrality policy," under which the East India Company had interfered with missionary activities and encouraged heathen resistance, was now abolished and the proclamation of the Queen left no question as to her own faith and that of the British nation. She would fulfill her "obligations by the blessing of Almighty God. . . . Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion," at the same time she very properly "disclaimed alike the right and the desire to impose her convictions on any of her subjects." The frank courage of the Queen and of many of her representatives in India, in the face of powerful opposition, proved how groundless was the fear that such witness and definite support of Christianity would arouse resentment and revolution. The outcome was that it was exactly where the rulers were most definitely Christian that the least trouble was experienced.

The American Methodists were just sending their first missionary to India and seized the new opportunity with unprecedented forces and points of occupation, while their ecclesiastical kin, the English Wesleyans, also occupied many new stations. American and Scotch Presbyterians now correlated and increased their undertakings; and Canadian, Irish and English Presbyterians entered the field. Numerous other organizations from Europe and America entered in response to the new conditions.

Such enlargement called for counsel in order to avoid duplications and for constructive and progressive planning. Duff had realized the advantages of this almost from the first, and is to be accounted really the father of the missionary conference, so important a feature of the missionary programme. Some purely local conferences had been held, some of

them quite important, as in 1847-48, in Madras. Four regional conferences were held from 1855 to 1862. Now, in 1872, a "General Indian Missionary Conference" was held, at Allahabad, attended by one hundred and thirty-six missionaries. Beginning in 1882, conferences have been held decennially for all India, including Burma and Ceylon. Regional and local conferences continued as required. After the Edinburgh Conference, 1910, its Continuation Committee made India the first field of its highly significant conferences in mission lands.

Beginning as early as 1870 with a local association at Trivandrum, the Young Men's Christian Association has taken an important part in India, as has also the Young Women's Christian Association, the Student Volunteer Movement and the unifying organization, the World's Student Christian Federation. From the later eighties these have increasingly laboured among students. After getting the International Student Volunteer Movement going, Robert Wilder gave his entire time and ability to this work for ten years from 1892, and John Mott made various significant tours of the principal universities, first in 1895-6. Sherwood Eddy has been a leading factor in student work for a quarter of a century, extending his labours to include the industrial field and race relations in India, as in other countries.

For the ever-growing class of cultured English-speaking people, including foreigners as well as natives of India, there have been numerous lecture tours, under the special provision of missionary bodies, such as the Church Missionary Society; by independent speakers, such as Joseph Cook, and upon special foundations. One of the most significant of such provisions is the Barrows Lectureship, maintained by the Haskell Foundation of twenty thousand dollars, provided by Mrs. Haskell, of Chicago. Dr. John Henry Barrows, with the patronage of Mrs. Haskell, had promoted and conducted a Parliament of Religions in connection with the World's Fair in Chicago, 1893. Out of this grew the idea of a lectureship in Christianity to be undertaken by the trustees of the Foundation. The lecture must be given in the principal university cities, and may be given in other centres. Fittingly, Dr. Barrows was himself the first lecturer, in 1896. Among others have been the late Principal A. M. Fairbairn, President Charles Cuthbert Hall (twice), Professor Charles R. Henderson (twice), Dean Charles W. Gilkey, Bishop F. J. McConnell. The volumes publishing these lectures constitute a valuable contribution to Christian Missions, Apologetics and Studies in Religion.

FAMINES AND MISSIONS

Famines are one of India's woes. In some areas they afflict almost every year. The most terrible of all, covering altogether fully half the country, occurred for three years, 1876-9, carrying away many millions. Here Christianity has had call for characteristic expression. An outstanding example may be given of how missions served in these crises. The American Baptist Mission among the Telugus, Nellore the chief station, was in the midst of one of the worst famine districts. Founded in 1840, this mission was for more than thirty years so unfruitful that the society was just voting to abandon it when the missionary, Jewett, home on sick fur-

lough, against physician's orders, rose to declare, "I know not what you will do. But for myself . . . I will go back to live and, if needs be, to die among the Telugu." Deciding then to "send some one to give him a Christian burial," the board designated Rev. John Clough. He was in India just in time to be prepared for famine relief work. In connection with government schemes, he undertook the construction of three miles of canal and carried it through with marked skill, employing in the administration only his evangelists and catechists for guiding the thousands of relief employees. By general understanding, no candidates for church membership were received from among labourers during relief work, that there might be no question of mercenary motives. Then the influence was capitalized by subsequent evangelism. At Ongole, two thousand two hundred and twenty-two were baptized on a single day, and eight thousand within six weeks. Out of this grew one of the most extensive Christian communities in any field of modern missions. This is only one of a series of "mass movements" toward the Christian churches. They have been most extensive in South India and in the Punjab. The problems they produce are obvious, and have called for much careful counselling and caution in procedure. In last century such movements were largely tribal and elicited for the "hill tribes" great interest and effort. More recently they have involved more especially the sub-caste peoples. The condition and needs of the fifty million "untouchables" (by any of the four castes) have been much before the mind of missionary conferences, and agencies. During and after the great famines of 1897 and 1900 especial pains were taken to prevent receiving "rice Christians," and the evils of mass conversions were avoided.

NEW CONDITIONS AND DANGER OF WEAKENING THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

Progress along all lines in India has been rapid in the years of the twentieth century; and the interrelations of political, economic, social, cultural and religious movements have become ever more complicated and difficult. The interactions between Christianity and other religions have become complicated and are sometimes baffling and confusing.

For one thing, it has become difficult to speak frankly about the religions of India and about the religious and moral conditions which these religions tolerate and encourage, if they do not actually contribute to producing them. There has developed a policy of silence as to gross social and economic evils that have afflicted India for millenniums and so of permitting to pass out of consciousness the failure and unfitness of these religions to correct the evils and to promote progress that would eliminate them. There is much to be said for the current fashion of seeking and emphasizing the values in the non-Christian religions. So far as such an attitude is the product of Christian sympathy and of human appreciation it is well, but if it be so used as to break down the sense of need and the call of duty, then it fosters the continuance of evils that sadly await overcoming. Charity and courtesy should not blunt the sense of evil nor blur the vision of need.

That Christianity has become a pervasive force in all phases of Indian life is obvious to all. There are those who would now prefer for it to be

limited to the method of indirect influence, avoiding the issue of personal identification with a Christian church. Mere proselytizing is to be deplored and avoided. Christianity goes to India to save Indians and India, not to add to the numbers of its own adherents or to advance itself as a system in rivalry with other systems. But the mission of Christianity is not fulfilled in mere modification of social and religious systems and conditions which have at their very heart corrupt or radically insufficient principles. The danger is great of toning down the Christian message, limiting its propaganda and weakening its method until the process of India's redemption is seriously retarded and compromised.

Recognizing the very great hindrance which Indians face in coming to full identification with organized Christianity, we may frankly recognize and rejoice that there are probably more believing Christians in India who are either unconfessed or only confessed in private than are to be counted on the rolls of all the churches. And these may have great value for India. Still we cannot feel that Christianity has yet done for these its full work or, through such "believers," can do its full service for India. They encourage, but do not satisfy.

It is no idle boast of Christianity that India's leaders are inspired and instructed by the teachings and ideals of Jesus Christ. Very many of these leaders are ready to testify to their debt to, and not a few to their definite dependence on, the influences of organized Christianity, both in its missions in India and in its Western achievements. The moral and ethical standards of progressive India are the teachings and the ideals of Jesus Christ; and this is never more evident than when Christendom and the "Christian nations" are condemned for their failures in relations with "non-Christian nations," and for the sins of their own civilizations. Christians and the Christian Church are haled before the judgment seat of Jesus Christ by their critics. They are not tried by the Dharma of the Buddha, the Laws of Manu or the codes of the Koran. By an amazing volume of Indian testimony, the Christ is India's hope, and no ideal can be stated higher than being Christ-like or meeting His approval.

The aggressiveness of Mohammedanism is winning as against all native Indian faiths, because its doctrine of brotherhood offers release from the oppression of caste, and its doctrine of God encourages an activity that pantheism and illusion cannot inspire. But in Mohammed the religion finds no exemplar for the modern man in any of his higher aspirations. The broken unity of the world of Islam, moreover, weakens the historic position and appeal of the religion. In any case, one need not hesitate to say that India does not look to Mohammedanism for deliverance from her past or for the making of her future.

The numerous movements for reform in Hinduism and for new religions all show the influence of the Christian impact. They are all efforts to eliminate evils which were seen to be a shame and a curse only in the light of Christianity, and to promote an advance which came into view only when the glory of God had shined upon them in the face of Jesus Christ. It is still impossible for some of India's religious literature to be put into a Western language; and the laws against obscenities and depravi-

ties must still carry exceptions in concession to religious ceremonies. The Brahmo-somaj frankly appropriated the personal monotheism of Christianity and much of its ethical code. It was at first a unitarian, ethical system, after a Christian model, with an Indian name and form. Later it follows a Western fashion and grows "humanistic." Its distinguished exponent, Rabindranath Tagore, has but recently given the Hibbert Lectures in Oxford. American Unitarians and Humanists laud the Somaj. Yet after a hundred years it remains an imitator, lacking the force of originality. The Arya-Somaj was too manifestly sectarian, and its efforts to find in the Vedas all that was needed for the modern religious challenge and task too strained, for it to be a powerful factor in a new order. If Mahatma Gandhi is a prophet, and more than a prophet, he is none the less a national prophet, who makes religion an instrument of nationalism. We can understand him and sympathize with him, while we still must recognize that for him Ahimsa is cultivated for the sake of Swaraj. He is the noble and wonderful prophet—it may be the political messiah—of "Mother India," and all the more so that he relies on spiritual weapons, even when he conducts an economic campaign for a national goal. But no man can be first of all a political messiah and be a rival to the Messiah of the eternal soul. When India has followed Gandhi to his goal, she will turn still to Jesus "seeking yet a country."

India of today shares in the universal trend to secularism and is not lacking in active anti-religious propaganda. There is, however, no country where the appeal to irreligion is likely to elicit less response. India may for a time find her chief religious passion in the struggle for national independence, but it will be a religious crusade, not consciously or professedly anti-religious or even non-religious.

INDIGENOUS CHRISTIANITY

Indian Christianity has in recent years come far along the road to conscious independence, autonomy and responsibility. The various problems of transition from missionary dependence to responsible independence are upon the churches in India and the fostering churches in other lands. These problems have advanced to the point where more and more they are being solved on Indian soil in councils determined by Indian experience, where alone they can be solved, not in board meetings or church courts in Europe and America. An indigenous organized church may not yet be clearly recognized in India, but an indigenous Christianity cannot be overlooked. It exists, and will create its legitimate forms, making such use of the forms contributed by missions as its own genius and experience may find, led of the Spirit of Christ.

Increasingly the fostering organizations have recognized the process of "devolution," and on the whole have welcomed and encouraged it. Naturally there are differences of opinion as to times and methods for passing the responsibility primarily to the native churches. In some cases friction has arisen, but on the whole the process goes forward satisfactorily. Premature stimulation of native demands by inexperienced or uninformed workers from the supporting countries, on the one hand, and ultra-

conservatism of those too concerned with dogmatic and ecclesiastical forms, on the other hand, are responsible for such conflicts as arise. On the whole, these extremes counterbalance, and between them keep the process in action. Naturally the high tides of national feeling in recent years accelerate the movement for a native Christianity. Probably there has been too little recognition of the method of local and fractional progress in native support and control, due to too much emphasis in thought upon organic oneness of "the Church in India."

Anglicans may well take pride in an entirely self-supporting *Telugu Indian Missionary Society*, founded in Tinnevely, in 1903. It seems to have originated with the Telugus themselves. It began in 1904, sending missionaries (two) to Hyderabad State. One of this group, Azariah, in 1812, became the first Indian Anglican bishop—a missionary bishop! To be sure, the whole work is within the Anglican Church, and Azariah was at first assistant bishop to the English Bishop of Madras.

Already, in 1913, it could be said that in the Punjab "Many congregations of the United Presbyterian Mission are self-supporting and self-governing." This local independence and autonomy is characteristic of many missions, particularly so of the Baptists. All the larger missions, in all the older regions, have numbers of wholly self-supporting congregations which together include probably the majority of Indian Evangelical Christians and constitute denominations corresponding to the promoting bodies in the sending countries.

Definite movement for a unity transcending the missionary denominational lines took shape as early as 1908 in South India, when five separate groups combined in the South India United Church. The Presbyterian Alliance, organized at Allahabad, in 1911, was typical of a step in the direction of combination. The recent (1929) union of all South Indian churches, including the Anglican, is having serious difficulties in India and causing difficulties in Great Britain. It is revealing concretely some of the barriers that are insuperable without a radical change in some claims of the denominations. Until concepts of "Church," "sacrament," "ministry" can be harmonized, unity rather than "union" would seem to mark the limit of helpful endeavour. Certainly a great measure of understanding, fellowship and co-operation in the common task of serving Christ in saving India is being achieved through the Christian Council, through conferences and through the growing exercise of the determination to love and to recognize all who follow the common Lord. The situation in India is rapidly coming to the point where Indian Christians will themselves determine the course of their development. Apparently this will be effected in good fellowship with the older Christian bodies, whose spirit and effort have revealed the saving Christ in India.

With a communicant following of a million and a quarter, with a census following of six million, exercising a spiritual leadership that is inescapable in all phases of India's complicated life, Jesus Christ stands today in the midst of her millions and says, "Upon this rock I will build my church:" "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free. If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

XIII

CHINA

CHINA is the biggest thing on the map. If we reckon all that was claimed by the "Chinese Empire"—the eighteen provinces, Manchuria, Mongolia (Inner and Outer), Chinese Turkestan and Tibet—the area, four and a quarter million square miles, is the largest continuous territory of any nation. It is larger than the whole of Europe. What is more to the point, it is the home of a fourth of all human beings, approximately four hundred and fifty millions, nine-tenths of them in the eighteen provinces of "China Proper." In no other group has humanity ever massed itself in such continuity of history and in such high degrees of homogeneity. While racial solidarity is lacking and there are unsolved questions of origin, there is a recognized major stock which gives historic character and unity; which has been able measurably to absorb other life streams that flowed into it and to maintain a racial and cultural unity that moved so slowly and manifested such fundamental elements of strength as to resist radical or rapid change. Here we have the oldest race, nation and culture the world can show. When Abraham left Chaldean civilization behind, China's sages were already defining from tradition the principles that would become written social philosophy in the centuries when Israel's Exile Prophets were preaching an ethical monotheism such as must lead on to a universal religion. Developing a language that was unique, the Chinese committed it to ideographic character into which they put their social and mystical wisdom. They made these writings the essence of their political, social and educational system, for all of which they claimed the sanction of heaven. And for them heaven was not autocratic personality speaking by decree, but cosmic truth in ideal reality to be actualized in its measure in human experience on earth.

Over such wide areas, with peoples of different origins, one spoken tongue was not to be realized; but whatever the vocal sounds, deepest wisdom was for the eyes the same in all the sections, and the ideals that determine character were drawn for all from this common source and inculcated in all. The intercourse of all was based on this one language, and it bound all together. This language they somehow made so different from all others and so difficult of learning as to constitute it a powerful instrument of national isolation. Dr. Milne said that to acquire it "is a work for men with bodies of brass, lungs of steel, heads of oak, eyes of eagles, hearts of apostles, memories of angels and lives of Methusaleh." A Jesuit said that it was invented by the devil to prevent the Chinese getting the Gospel.

HIGH POINTS AND FACTS OF HISTORY

China has never had a closely knit empire. Through much of its his-

tory parts of the country were in practice either entirely or extensively independent of the putatively supreme authority. At some periods there were numerous sectional rulers in opposition to one another and none exercising control over the whole. The deplorable conditions from the death of Yüan Shi-k'ai, 1916, to 1925, when five or more Tsuchuns ("war-lords") divided the country and opposed one another, made alliances with one another and schemed for more power, had maintained at various periods in the long history. There has always been also a high degree of local autonomy. The imperial power has rarely sought to assume detailed control of local community life, content if its sovereign was recognized and the taxes were forthcoming, and these collected by systems that reached the individual indirectly.

Yet through it all there was a remarkable feeling of unity and satisfied pride in membership in the Middle Kingdom, in each Chinese being one of the people who held "all within the four seas." Mongols and, later, Manchus came in in great hordes and for long periods held the imperial seats, but ruled loosely and accepted Chinese culture, traditions and ideals, manifestly superior to their own. After all, it was China, and captors became captives of the Chinese spirit.

The practical social unit has been the family, or clan, throughout their history. The patriarchal principle has ruled. The village was a family group, not infrequently every household in it having the same one of the recognized "one hundred family names" of China.

Bound by the sea on the east and mountains on the west, the people of China have been a self-contained people. They have won a reputation as a peaceful people, because they have rarely been at war with outside peoples, rarely organized for defence from invasion, because invasion was not likely. Only once did they sweep west and south in force, and then under an alien leadership. But among themselves they have known no century unmarked by civil strife and internecine conflict. Yet theirs are always "family quarrels" with which a stranger meddled to his hurt.

Chinese claim for their "Empire" a history from dim distance, certainly as far back as 3000 B. C., before we are obviously dealing with bizarre myths. Astronomical calculations of theirs are said to be verifiable as early as 2249 B. C. Wu Wang, claimed as founder of the Chow (Chou) dynasty, inaugurated the cult of the Son of Heaven. After centuries of glorious power, this dynasty frazzled out in a period of "warring states," general disintegration and times of calamity. Its dates are given as 1100-255 B. C. In the centuries of its decline came the great philosopher-statesmen Lao and Kung. Lao had the honorific *tze* and Kung the double title *fu-tze*. These were Romanized for the west as Laotsius and Confucius. Thus the cultural foundations of China were defined in days of political dissolution and all subsequent political history has rested on these cultural bases.

Shi Hwang, in 255, arose to unify China and found a new dynasty. His family, Ts'in, or Chin, gave the usual western name of the country. It was he who built the great wall to keep out the Mongolian peoples whom he had driven back. His effort to destroy all books has puzzled students of history. One may hazard the guess that the Confucian scholars at the

courts of provincial and local kings were the bulwarks of their strength with the people, and that Shi Hwang regarded them as, therefore, a source of weakness for imperial unity. Having restored unity and strength Hwang's family quickly gave place to the Han dynasty, who ruled from 206 B. C. to 620 A. D., during which Buddhism was introduced and won its way to wide recognition. Now came the Tangs, to give theirs as one of the names of China, and to hold sway until 940. Then a long period of invasion, first by the Mohammedan Syro-Persians, and then the Mongol-Tatars with their widespreading empire, which, in the fourteenth century, in the loose way of such empires, included all China, India and westward to the borders of the Black Sea. It was now that their traders and diplomats penetrated Europe until Europe's peoples trembled with fear of invasion.

It was the Chinese Ming rulers who overthrew the Tatars and gave a native control from 1341-1644, although the Khans were not expelled until 1368. Two families becoming involved in a dynastic war at the end of the sixteenth century, one invited the Manchus in to assist, and they remained from 1618 until overthrown by the Revolution of 1911 and the setting up of the "Republic" in 1912.

CONDITIONS IN THE PERIOD OF EXCLUSION

Against this background we have to study Christian contacts and influences on China. Already we have sketched these up to the modern era of evangelical missions. That era opened with little to encourage Protestantism in its call to China, and it has laboured against heavy hindrances through its whole career. All the more remarkable and encouraging are its achievements and the position which it holds in China's present struggle and hope.

The first feature of the situation was that for nearly a century China had officially insisted that she had had enough of foreigners, especially of Europeans. A new Emperor, Yung Cheng, came to the throne in 1723, whose accession marks the culmination of growing opposition by definite steps for checking the growth of the foreign religion. The missionaries had kept Christianity distinctly foreign, and had emphasized this fact in the reference to Rome of questions in the long and bitter conflicts among the different orders of monks over the Chinese rites. On the side of their religion Chinese Christians were under foreign control; and the practice of their religion, under decision of a European power, drew them away from some of the most characteristic Chinese ceremonies, such as the worship of ancestors, participation in the seasonal state sacrifices, social functions and guild rites. Only in 1656 was the first Chinese ordained a priest, and he had been given a Spanish baptismal name—Gregory Lopez, instead of Lo Wen-tsai—and was sent to Manila for his education. He served the church in the days of persecution and foreign expulsion after 1664. In 1674 he was appointed a bishop. Over this there was much controversy, he refused a subordinate appointment under authority of a Dominican, and was not ordained until 1685, had no see until 1690, when he was more than seventy-five years old, and died before actually serving as Bishop of Nanking. Not until well within the present

century did the Catholic Church ordain a second Chinese to the bishopric. This incident fully illustrates the foreign nature of the Catholic Christianity in China.

Affairs in Europe in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries greatly weakened the support of the work in China, while the national quarrels, conflicts and rivalries were reflected in the East, and revealed definitely to Chinese leaders the dangers they faced from the foreigners. The conservative scholars, so influential in China, opposed change, and especially the introduction of alien elements into their society.

The Dominicans had become the uncompromising advocates of a thoroughly European Christianity, with complete surrender of heathen practices. In one of their centres in Fukien Province a movement was started against the missionaries, just in 1723, and the matter reached the new Emperor through the Viceroy's request that Christianity be exterminated. The outcome was a decree, January 10, 1724, limiting missionaries who might remain in China to a few skilled in astronomy, and they to live in Peking, while all church buildings were to be confiscated and all Chinese to renounce the Christian faith. After strenuous efforts, a concession was gained permitting missionaries to stop in Canton instead of Macao, to which they had been ordered. We have seen how imperial administration is dependent upon subordinate and local officers and public sentiment. The decrees remained, and persecutions were numerous and repeated right on to the Opium War. It was in 1838 that the court in Peking left vacant the post of foreign astronomer for the first time since Ricci was engaged.

Under such conditions, it is impossible to say how many Catholics there were in China in 1800, but various estimates all place the number above two hundred thousand. It can hardly have been more than two hundred and fifty thousand. That so many held firm and continued to come in under such persecutions attests loyalty and conviction. The moral standards of Christian living, too, seem to have been on a definitely higher plane than non-Christians practiced, although leaving very much to be desired. There were few schools, and these strictly ecclesiastical. "On China and its culture as a whole, the missionaries had made almost no impression" (Latourette, p. 195).

The Chinese limited rigidly all foreign intercourse. Trade was restricted to a few points, almost to Canton, and was monopolized in the powerful Co-hong. On the other side, British contacts were restricted within the East India Company, Dutch to their Company, and all were largely dependent upon the Portuguese settlement in Macao, which they held under lease which has been perpetuated. Of political relations in the proper sense, there were none. Imperial China made no interchange of diplomatic representatives until 1873, and at the time before us now treated all consuls of other governments with proud contempt. To this attitude of official China we must add the fact that France, Spain and Portugal were under Catholic domination and unfriendly to Protestant approach to China. There is evidence of the use of political power to hinder the Protestant missionaries. The British East India Company was thoroughly unfriendly to missions, and would permit none on its ships.

RELIGION AMONG CHINESE

A strong case can be made for the thesis that the Chinese are not antagonistic to new religions as such. China has three non-exclusive religions, to all of which the majority of Chinese yield some measure of adherence. Christianity is an exclusive religion, and as such meets antagonism from all other religions. Too generally its exclusiveness has been interpreted, even by its own advocates, in a competitive sense. It is rightly exclusive only as it is complete and hence comprehensive. It is exclusive in the interest of its own integrity, to avoid amalgamation; and in the interest of those whom it will save, to prevent their contamination with corrupt practices. A complete religion must be exclusive of other religions, but not of truth or of men. Partisan exclusiveness is a mark of incompleteness. Practically every Chinese is consciously, avowedly a Confucianist. Until the current exaltation of Sun Yat-sen and the obsessions of the new nationalism, Confucianism was almost identical with Chinese loyalty. Since the priests of nature worship appropriated the patronage of Laotze's name and fame and gave a sectarian connotation to the great philosopher's doctrine of the *Tao*, the vast majority of Chinese have been Taoists in much of their practical religion. Confucianism makes a religion of the social order, with its five fundamental relations to be accepted as the basis of all social and political life, and to be punctiliously observed according to the rigid rules of "propriety." The ancient worship of heaven and of earth by the Emperor in behalf of his nation was incorporated in the practice of Confucian ethics, so that this system included the seasonal provincial rites and sacrifices performed by the governors and locally by the magistrates. Public ancestral halls with the tablets sacred to the hero-deities and benefactors came within this religion also. Then the national recognition of the Confucian classics as the basis of all culture, education, honours and preferment for civil service completed the universal grip of this system on the people. It was a religion of social order in present human relationships, all comprehensively included and regulated.

Aminimism peopled air, earth and the waters under the earth with spirits, good and bad, and arranged them under a more or less orderly system of polytheism. The ways of these spirits could be known and controlled only by and under direction of those instructed in the complication of the Way (*Tao*) of the spirit world and the cosmic order. Here was the opportunity of the Taoist priest, and his became the religion of man's adjustment to his living spiritual environment. Not many were enlightened and bold enough to dispense with the ministration of Taoist priests.

But the long future of the soul—who will instruct men and prepare them for that? Here was a serious lack. It came to press as an intolerable burden. Out of the West came rumours of revelation. In the first Christian century a commission went in search of light. About the time the Apostle Paul came to make Rome the centre of the Light of the World these Chinese seekers found Buddhist bonzes who went to tell China of the way to release. From other sources, too, came missionaries of the Buddha. The story cannot here be told how Buddhism came, how it pleased and repelled, how through patronage and persecution it came about

after six hundred years that the majority of Chinese added the Buddha and his Boddhisatvas to their faith and their dependence for the leadership on the long journey of escape through stages of hells and heavens into the bliss of freedom from desire and every ill it entails.

Behind all these faiths were the primitive superstitions which all peoples know, the ancestor worship so powerful in Chinese devotion and fear, the national loyalty bound up with the name and teachings of the great Kung, whose birthplace and tomb remain China's most sacred shrine. To these must be added a persistent monotheistic note which haunted many a soul and lurked in the background of all the process of men and gods in China, whether under the name of Shang-ti, or the vaguer T'ien, or implied in the universal faith in the ideally perfect Tao which, if only a man could know and walk in it, would make him an ideal man.

The course of human religion is along the ways of interaction between aminism and monotheism struggling in man's experience and thought. Nowhere outside Hebrew history and the Zoroastrian period of Persian history is this struggle so obvious and so illuminating as in China. How far there was interchange of thought and influence among the nations in that marvellous sixth century B. C. of religious revival throughout Asia and into Greece and Rome, no man can say. That God made then a wide and notable revelation of Himself to men can hardly be questioned by any one who believes at all in revelation. Equally impossible is it to say how far Hebrew religious insight carried its influence in the distribution of its sons through captivities, migrations and travels; or to what extent Mohammed's severe monotheism of Allah reinforced China's native idea of Shang-ti. Nor can any one say to what extent the Christian interpretation of God and man penetrated China to influence her thought in pre-Nestorian times, in the two periods of Nestorian active missionary work in China and in the two campaigns from Europe prior to 1800, and influenced her thought of God and of human duty and destiny. The belief in sacrificial love of a personal God and human trust in Him alone for redemption and hope, as set out in *The Lotus Scripture*, put into Chinese in the third century, and *The Awakening of Faith*, translated in the sixth century, are essentially Christian concepts. These works, widely popular in some forms of Buddhism, may well have been influenced by Gnostic and Manichean contacts which are known, and by more orthodox influences which are probable. In any case, so great a scholar and missionary as Timothy Richard—a truly front-rank personality—finds in these teachings "*The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*," through which there was a remarkable *preparatio evangelicæ*.

Still the modern missionary approached China after four organized efforts to plant Christianity there, three of them complete failures so far as permanent tangible results measure, and the fourth a success that was as much a liability as an asset for the new campaign.

THE MODERN OPENING OF CHINA

Before the missionary came, the courier of commerce was already knocking at the door shut in the face of the foreigner. Most persistent and

determined was the British merchant. He chafed under the heathen's blind conservatism. His Indian territories were developing, his trade in Malaysia increasing. He needed new and enlarged markets, and especially for his India-grown opium, which he preferred to see debauch the Chinese rather than his own subjects and wards. And Chinese were not wanting to help him introduce the contraband poison. His European friends and enemies alike were ready to help persuade the widening of the door of commerce or to use other means for expanding trade.

When, in 1813, the functions of the East India Company were restricted and England would take under her diplomatic service all political relations, she came at once into conflict with Chinese arrogance and intransigence. Growing friction reached a climax when Chinese mobs dumped a lot of contraband opium into the sea. War followed from 1839-42. When it closed, the strategic island of Hong Kong was a British possession to be beautifully developed into the foremost British Far Eastern capital, fortified in strength next to Gibraltar. To this day it commands the approach up the West River to Canton and dominates the in- and out-going trade of all populous and progressive South China. All ocean-going cargoes must tranship at Victoria, or at Kowloon, across the narrow strait which Britain, in 1860, appropriated to enable her to handle the growing volume of trade. Although the river is ample and harbour space along the Bund abundant, Canton is not permitted to become a port of first instance. Moreover, China was compelled to open for foreign trade and residence five of her chief cities.

These enlarged facilities sufficed until the growing volume of trade called for more. This time the French were in alliance with the British, and many American business men were very sympathetic. China was still too blind to see what was good for her, and must have a second forcible lesson. Occasion was found in the sinking of a Chinese junk chartered by the British, rechristened the *Arrow* and manned with a Chinese crew under British flag and command, and running a blockade with contraband. The Chinese sunk her, as they were expected to do.

Enough for the purpose, and the "Arrow" War in two years brought China to compulsory terms. But disagreement over the meaning of the terms of the Treaty of Tientsin delayed the final settlement two years longer, till 1860. Seven more important centres were now open to trade and foreign residence, while three others were to be determined upon. They proved to be Hankow, Kinkiang and Chingkiang. Besides freedom of residence, ownership of property and conduct of trade in the fifteen treaty ports, foreigners were now permitted to travel freely throughout China; Peking would receive diplomatic representatives; Christianity would be tolerated and its worshippers protected. When controversy arose over the interpretation of the terms, British and French again appealed to arms, destroyed the Taku fortifications, marched to Peking, which they captured and sacked, and destroyed the imperial summer palace; exacted higher indemnities than agreed upon in 1858, added Tientsin to the open ports, the cession Kowloon to Great Britain. The French version of the new treaty was found to contain permission "to French missionaries to

rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." This clause was introduced by the priest who was interpreter for the French. It was not in the Chinese copy of the treaty, and was signed only because the Chinese were helpless.

The growing trade centres and expanding missionary residence multiplied contacts and occasions of friction, and the fear and resentment at the increasing presence and influence of foreigners made repeated conflicts inevitable. There were massacres at various points, most serious at Hankow and at Tientsin, where French interference in behalf of Catholic missions brought a crisis that for a time threatened the expulsion of all missionaries, Catholic and Protestant.

In 1873, partly as an outcome of negotiations growing out of the frequent outbreaks of violence during the preceding decade, China's Emperor for the first time actually received a foreign minister in audience. Even this was not accomplished without pressure. The reception was delayed some months over questions of court etiquette, on which China was forced to yield.

By 1885, when the European powers had reached agreement among themselves for the partition of Africa, their feverish outreach and rivalry in empire building had begun seriously to threaten China's integrity. Already the French were appropriating territory in Indo-China. The doctrine of "spheres of influence" was growing in practice in China. Agreements among Europeans and Japanese most seriously affecting China were made without consulting her and with complete disregard of her interests. Japan and Russia were pressing for advantage in the game of trade and territorial advance, with China as the victim. Over age-old controversy about their rights in Korea, China and Japan went to war in 1894-5. China's helplessness was laid bare to her own eyes. Outside powers, including Japan, had taken possession of every deep-water harbour on China's long coast, had compelled "concessions" of land in each port under foreign control, to the complete exclusion of the Chinese. The United States had joined the rest in the claim of "extraterritoriality" and in the management of China's financial policy in customs and in the use of taxes.

BOXER UPRISING: A NEW ERA FOR CHINA

A growing party in China, including the young Emperor, saw that China's only hope lay in modernizing her education and economic life along Western lines. The conservative element realized that if the old order was to be saved and China was ever to deliver herself from the greed of foreigners and the humiliation of foreign domination, the time had come. The Boxer uprising of 1900 was a desperate effort after self-assertion and autonomy.

When the Tai-pings fought against the Manchus for progress and for Chinese self-government, the long and bloody war was brought to an end in 1864 only with the help of a foreign army privately raised and commanded by an American, Ward, who on his death in battle was succeeded by the notable General Gordon, who led "the Ever Victorious Army." The foreigners had thus upheld the reactionary party, as the actual government. Now, in 1900, it was this Manchu party, with the prestige and

ability of the Empress Dowager, sweeping aside the Emperor and his progressives, that defied all the foreigners in a blind and futile blow for freedom.

Yet the struggle was not without great advantages. The conscience of Christendom was aroused and the nations were restrained in their reckless disregard of China's rights. The impossibility of partitioning China without a destruction of human life such as had never been perpetrated upon any people was clear to all who would think. The United States, being less involved, was able to see the wicked stupidity of the course of the nations with China, and began a campaign of consideration and justice. Increasingly China herself saw the hopelessness of reaction, and entered upon the path of progress. It is a path that must take her far, through tragic experiences; but it is the only way; it may be the sure way. China had been playing the impossible rôle of an ancient nation in a modern world.

Once having set her back upon the past, in which she had gloried through millenniums, China soon found no room for Manchu rulers. The Revolution, which Sun Yat-sen had been fostering for a quarter of a century, came with startling precipitancy in 1911. The setting up of a "Republic" in 1912 was premature, and it has had a distressing history thus far, but a course that makes progress even through its tragedies. From now on the progressives must rule. To succeed, they must have friendly relations with the Western peoples and as far as possible with the Western nations. The dominant attitude has wholly changed on both sides. The dependence of the new order for its origin and success on ideas that came out of the Christian West is freely recognized by many of the responsible leaders. Asked when the revolutionary movement began, one Chinese statesman replied: "The day Robert Morrison landed in Canton." In a crisis, the Acting Government made a formal appeal to Christians throughout China to set apart April 27, 1913, as a day of prayer for the young Republic.

Drawn into the World War on the side of the Allies, China hopefully expected to win, in the peace conferences and treaties, some definite restoration of national prerogatives taken from her through the century's events. Her disappointment was great. She now entered upon a definite campaign for the peaceful recovery of her financial autonomy, the restoration of "concession" areas in all her cities and the abolition of extraterritoriality. The Washington Conference of 1922 gave real encouragement in the campaign, as America's friendliness seemed assured. Then, in 1925, came the "Shanghai Incident," when British police fired upon a crowd of strikers and students before the prison, killing some. It precipitated an extremely delicate crisis and fired China with a determined unity such as had never previously existed. The British Home Government maintained remarkable steadiness, resisted all clamour for any except the most necessary show of force. The conscience of the world was awakened in China's cause as never before. The gradually growing demand within Christendom for the application of Christian principles to all international and interracial relations has become insistent. China, far more than India, has brought to consciousness this demand of Christianity, for the reason that all the major nations are directly involved in the Chinese complications.

The changed attitude which followed the Boxer trouble may be said to have come to clear definition in the 1925 crisis. This is an unspeakable gain for the hope of the world and for Christianity as the religious hope of humanity.

We can now look back and see how every great advance in China's modern world relationships has been forced upon her, and that the missionary movement has ridden in upon the armaments that have compelled the opening. Again, the foreigners have compelled China to pay for each war, which was a new lesson in progress, and in addition has exacted heavy punitive indemnity as additional penalty for her stupidity in not accepting the lessons without force. Then China's reluctance and resentment have given occasion for foreigners to claim that she was incompetent to meet her obligations, and so to take over the administration of her finances in order to guarantee the payment of indemnities. Under these conditions it was cynical irony to tell China that so soon as she manifests her capacity to administer her affairs according to enlightened standards her autonomy will be restored. At length China demands autonomy in order that she may order her house in modern style. It is simple truth to say that in Evangelical Christianity lies China's hope of being permitted to do this, and equally China's hope of being able to do this. It is the influence of Evangelical Christianity that constrains the nations to justice and friendliness, and Evangelical Christianity that has awakened the soul of China and can guide in the freeing of that soul. Progress depends upon understanding the factors that make for progress.

MODERN MISSIONS

The progress of modern missions in China falls into certain periods. The first begins with the arrival of Robert Morrison, in 1807. It is a *period of preparatory waiting* for the way to open. With the ratification of the Nanking Treaty, in 1842, begins a *period of beginnings* which extends to 1860, when a *period of relatively rapid expansion* ensues. The Boxer uprising, in 1900, marks a distinct turning-point in China's attitude, and thus in missionary opportunity. This, a *period of awakening*, leads to 1922, when the formation of the China Christian Council introduces an *era of the growing Indigenous Church*.

I. PERIOD OF PREPARATORY WAITING

The file leader of Evangelical Missions is Robert Morrison. Appointed by the London Missionary Society in 1804, he began the study of Chinese in London. The East India Company refused passage, and he went out via the United States, whence he carried a friendly letter from Mr. Madison, the Secretary of State, to the American Consul. Barred out of China as a foreigner, his mission opposed by the only British authority there, and with the Portuguese settlement in Macao dominated by the Jesuit influence, the new missionary found himself in need of every resource under God. For twenty-seven years he laboured until his death, in 1834, with but one visit home. As a wise master-builder, he laid a foundation secure for future builders. Within two years the antagonistic East India Company required his services as interpreter and translator. He accepted

on terms that left him free to do missionary work and with a salary which made him financially independent of the home society and enabled him to expend very considerable sums on the work. This position also gave him access to the foreigners, some of whom he enlisted and led into living helpful in the Christian preparation.

His first care was for the language, and for the Scriptures in Chinese. Already Marshman, at Serampore, was working at this, and produced his New Testament in 1811, two years ahead of Morrison. Morrison and Milne had the entire Bible ready in 1819.

The London Society sent a number of men and women within this period, five of whom were still employed in 1832. It was seven years before Morrison baptized his first convert, and there were not more than ten up to his death. Among these was Liang A-fah, the first ordained evangelist, a man of ability and devotion, who could work in Canton when foreigners could not. He was eminently useful, and a memorial pillar fitly marks the grave to which his bones were, long after his death, removed, on the campus of Lingnam University.

Morrison's first recruits, Reverend and Mrs. William Milne, were not allowed to remain in either Macao or Canton. Chinese emigrants were already numerous in Java, Malacca, Borneo and elsewhere in the Straits Settlements and in the Philippines. Here was an opening. To these the Milnes went, and most of the missionaries of all boards in this period had to content themselves with work among Chinese in these regions. Malacca was a sort of first British Far Eastern capital. Here Morrison encouraged the opening of a school which soon came to be the Anglo-Chinese College. Here also was the mission printing press, although Morrison's Bible was printed on the East India Company's press at Macao, and the company even met the heavy costs of his grammar and his enormous dictionary.

The London Society, in 1817, began work in Mongolia, where several missionaries translated the Bible and won a few converts before the work was closed by the Russian Government in 1841.

The Bible Society became interested in China from its origin, but it was 1836 before its first agent, Lay, located in Macao. In the same year the Church Missionary Society sent its first representative, but he failed to establish himself. Two years earlier this society had appropriated three hundred pounds for the work of Gützlaff, whom the Netherlands Society had sent, in 1827, to Batavia. He was a man of great linguistic ability, determination, resourcefulness and faith. After a few years in the Straits regions he went to China and adopted the method of colportage by boat, making easy evasion of Chinese prohibitions. His labours extended as far north as Tientsin. He succeeded Morrison in the employ of the British and plays a notable rôle in the next period.

The American Bible Society began aiding in Bible distribution in the early twenties, and paid a salary to Liang A-fah. In 1829, D. W. C. Olyphant, the Boston merchant on whose ship Morrison had sailed, gave free passage to the first two American missionaries, both of them to make names for their service. David Abeel went to minister as chaplain to American sailors in Chinese waters. His interest led him back to China

in 1842 as missionary of the American Board. Forced home in 1845 by ill health, he was outstanding in advocacy of missions and influential in bringing about the Woman's Union Missionary Society in 1860.

Elijah C. Bridgman, the American Board's first missionary, began a boys' school in Canton, and in 1832 opened publication of *The Chinese Repository*, to become highly useful in interesting foreigners in China. The board sent others, among them the famous Sinologue, S. Wells Williams, who went out as a printer; and Peter Parker to be the first medical missionary to Chinese, 1834. Surgeons of the East India Company had given some aid and instruction to the Chinese, and Dr. Colledge had in true Christian concern conducted a dispensary for Chinese in Macao. Now, after experience in Singapore, in 1835 Parker inaugurated medical missionary work, won confidence and led on to the Canton Christian Hospital, which for nearly a century has blessed China.

The American Baptists had J. T. Jones go on in 1833 from Burma to Bangkok, where he baptized four Chinese; and a Chinese church was organized there by William Dean in 1835. In 1836, J. Lewis Shuck and wife came as the first Baptists in China, and I. J. Roberts arrived a year later, sent by a special organization in Kentucky, but soon to join the Shucks under the Baptist Board. American Episcopalians sent two able men to Canton in 1835, but their stay was brief. Their work and that of the permanent founder of Episcopal missions in China, Boone, in this period was in Singapore and Batavia. Just at the end of this period two sons of Walter Lowrie, distinguished secretary of the newly constituted Presbyterian Board, came to Singapore and were ready when China would admit them.

Thus in the first period Protestant evangelism was chiefly among Chinese outside China. The total number of converts was fewer than a hundred, and barely ten in China itself. A splendid beginning had been made for a Christian literature, with the Bible for its cornerstone. Schools already constituted the beginnings of Christian education, so important for a land where not more than one man in a hundred could read and not one woman in a thousand. Medical missions had founded a hospital in Canton and had made small beginnings in the use of scientific means and knowledge in dealing with smallpox, malaria and other diseases where the millions had depended on placating or outwitting demons. Missionary organizations of Great Britain, the United States and Holland had already small forces, trained and experienced, ready for the opportunity when it could be made, and others were eagerly awaiting the hour. In Canton itself the few missionaries had taken the lead in interesting foreigners and a few sympathetic Chinese in co-operation for the common good. "The Christian Union of Canton," and a "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" did good, even though they did not perpetuate themselves. "The Morrison Education Society" was a most appropriate means of honouring him. At its organization, in 1835, a fund of a thousand pounds enabled it at once to begin assisting the education of Chinese youth. Shortly it had its own school headed by Samuel R. Brown, brought from America as teacher. In its ten years (1839-49) it trained Yung Wing, who later graduated from an American college (the first Chinese to do this) and

turned out to be a great factor in educating Chinese in modern learning. He was chiefly responsible for the Chinese Educational Commission, which sent scores of students to the United States. Here also studied Wong Fun, later the first Chinese to graduate in modern medicine, taking his degree at Edinburgh.

The Medical Missionary Society in China (1838), "to assist medical service undertaken gratuitously for the Chinese," was promoted by Colledge, Parker, Lay, Bridgman, Jardine and others. It assisted hospitals in both Macao and Canton, and procured endowments enabling them modestly to keep going during the serious disorders of the already imminent war.

If the Jesuit Father Valignani, about 1580, "looking one day out of a window of the College of Macao" toward closed and unwilling China, "called out with a loud voice . . . 'Oh, Rock, Rock, when wilt thou open!'" these evangelical missionaries in 1839, with expectant souls, were striking the Rock with the rod of loving helpfulness and commanding it in the name of Christ to open.

II. PERIOD OF OCCUPATION

The Treaty of Nanking ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain and opened to foreign residence and trade Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai; provided that foreigners accused of crime should be tried under the laws and officials of their own nation, while foreign plaintiffs might appeal to their own officials to see that justice was done in Chinese courts; abrogated the prohibition of teaching the language to foreigners; agreed that privileges granted to any one of "the most favoured nations" would be extended to all; stipulated that foreigners found outside the treaty ports should be arrested and turned over to their nearest consul.

CATHOLICS

The French, in the interest of Catholic missions, and America, in the interest of Protestants and Catholics, stipulated in their treaties that foreigners might build in the treaty ports houses, hospitals, schools and places of worship. Religion was not specifically mentioned, the French having failed to get a toleration clause inserted. The envoy did succeed in getting edicts proclaimed in 1844 and '46 extending further favours to Catholics.

Interest in China missions had greatly revived in Catholic Europe, and new missionaries began to arrive in 1836. The land was reallocated under a new scheme of vicarates. New organizations entered, those already at work increased their numbers, support greatly increased, while the French Government acted as advocate and protector. Always going the limits of treaty concessions, these missions were almost constantly transcending them. The result was frequent legal conflicts, persecutions, friction. Still it meant penetrating new areas and spreading a somewhat irregular and tangled network of Catholic missions over the whole of China; and after the Arrow War there was rapid increase in the membership of the churches. The immediate occasion for the French joining with the British in the War of 1856-60 was the judicial murder, in 1856, of a French priest in Kwangsi Province, of course far beyond treaty rights.

The T'ai Ping Rebellion, running through fifteen years in all (1848-1864), had for its head a man—Hung Hsui—Ch'uan—whose visions had resulted in originating a new religious sect calling themselves "The Worshipers of Shang-ti," preaching repentance, administering baptism, destroying idols. A writing of Liang A-fah had had certainly some part in Hung's visions which inspired the movement and from which he professed to have been commissioned of God and identified by Jesus as a younger brother. I. J. Roberts, the Baptist missionary, had had him in his home for two brief periods and was later in some relation of instructor and advisor in Hung's family. All this gave a sort of Christian colouring to the Rebellion, which grew to such proportions that it all but succeeded in overthrowing the Manchus.

For the most part, the operations of this war were in territory not yet attempted by Protestants, but extensively penetrated by Catholic missionaries. Until its last stages, when the foreigners came to the aid of the rulers, it was easy for Chinese authorities to connect the rebels with foreign influence and religion. Thus Catholics suffered much persecution and interference with their work, a large part of which was in any case technically beyond the law.

PROTESTANT ADVANCE

On their part, Protestants made a rush to seize the opportunities made by the Opium War. They did not wait for formal treaty signing. The societies already at work among Chinese transferred to Hong Kong and the five open ports some of their workers in the various Straits regions and hurried recruits from the home lands. Other organizations began at once to occupy the new stations. The London Society was among the foremost. Legge had become Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College only in 1840. In 1843 he brought the college with him to Hong Kong and changed it into a training college for a Chinese clergy. Besides this famous translator of the Classics and editor of *The Sacred Books of the East*, the London Society brought on Joseph Edkins, 1848, Griffith John, 1855, along with many others. They spread widely, occupying at once three of the five ports and pressing into the regions around them.

If American Congregationalists were somewhat behind their British brethren, it was because they were just then expanding their work in other countries. They were, moreover, labouring among Chinese in America and following them up on their return to China.

American Presbyterians, first setting up their own board distinct from the American Board, in 1837, were just ready for the new challenge. Their first station was Ning-po, in 1844, where they claim the first Protestant church organized on Chinese soil, 1845. Besides the Lowrie brothers, the Presbyterians sent many who became distinguished in missionary labours and leadership and in scholarship. John L. Nevius came in 1854, later to be so prominent in the Shantung missions and also advisor in the opening of Presbyterian work in Korea, where the policies that have proved so successful were largely determined by him. Dr. W. A. P. Martin arrived in 1850, to become one of the best interpreters of China to the

West. Dr. John Kerr, as head of the hospital in Canton, inaugurated care of the insane in China.

English Presbyterians initiated their foreign mission work by sending to China, in 1847, William C. Burns, an able, eccentric, wandering missionary, who nevertheless laid good foundations, and especially inculcated self-support. In his twenty years he laboured in and itinerated from Amoy, Swatow and Peking, and was headed for Manchuria when he died, in 1866. He exercised a strong influence over J. Hudson Taylor in his first period in China.

The American Episcopal Church determined to make Shanghai its base and the lower Yangtze Valley its field. Their work was supervised by Boone, consecrated Bishop in 1844, until 1864. A school for boys, opened about 1851, was to develop into St. John's College. The Church Missionary Society laboured in South China, but its aggressive period begins with the coming of G. E. Moule, in 1857, to be followed by his brother, Arthur E., both to become distinguished missionaries in Central China with Hankow as the centre.

American Baptists were already on the ground, and sent other missionaries, by 1856 occupying four of the ports. On their division, in 1845, Southern Baptists developed work in Canton and Shanghai, while Northern Baptists developed Ning-po. Besides Shuck, who was pioneer in Canton, Ning-po and Shanghai, Southern Baptists had sent, in this period, R. H. Graves to Canton (1857), and to Shanghai Matthew T. Yates (1847) and T. P. Crawford (1852), who proved to be missionaries of the highest usefulness. English Baptists sought to open work in Chefoo in 1858, by taking over two missionaries of the Chinese Evangelization Society, but suffered disasters and defeat until the coming of Timothy Richard, in 1870.

American Methodists, taking up foreign missions late, were divided over the slavery question in 1846, then in a few years hindered by the Civil War. The Northern branch began in Foochow, in 1847, the Southern in Shanghai, in 1848, the English Wesleyans in Canton, in 1853. None of these achieved much until after 1860.

Gützlaff, working in Hong Kong, elaborated a pretentious scheme for evangelizing China largely through Chinese workers. He enlisted in it the German organizations, then, on a tour of Germany, in 1849-50, aroused great enthusiasm and gained large support by his accounts of his Chinese workers and their successes, backed by reports from these workers. In his absence from China it was revealed that his Chinese evangelists and other workers were nearly all rank imposters and their glowing reports of baptisms, new stations and eager seekers fictitious. He had been grossly deceived. He died in 1851. The German societies remained in China and developed their own methods and work.

It is not possible to give even the names of the numerous minor organizations that by 1860 had undertaken to carry the Gospel to the Chinese. Results were slow at first, but foundations were being laid, methods learned, experience gained. By 1850 not more than one hundred had been baptized; by 1860 only about one thousand were in all the churches. Protestants had preached in only six of the eighteen provinces.

III. PERIOD OF EXPANSION, 1860-1900

China continued in a state of bewilderment, borne along on a current the direction and meaning of which most Chinese had little idea. The ignorant masses knew little of what was going on, although the number of those who were finding out grew rapidly in the last two decades of the century.

The Christian churches were largely aroused to the meaning of their opportunity, although it was only the leaders who came to see that Christianity was in China facing the greatest single opportunity and test that had ever come to her, or could ever come. Either Christianity must succeed in China or, failing there, be proved unequal to redeeming humanity. The full force of that challenge is perhaps only now being realized.

We have seen that most of the denominations had made beginnings in China before 1860. All others of any importance came in now, and several extra-denominational organizations were formed with special reference to China, chief of these being the China Inland Mission. The older bodies pressed with what eagerness they might to share in giving the Gospel to at least some of China's millions.

By 1860 the Catholics had congregations with missionary and native priests in at least seventeen of the eighteen provinces, and a total membership of approximately a quarter of a million. By 1900 the membership had somewhat more than doubled. While there had been definite increase in native priesthood, both in numbers and in preparation and in training, the authority remained with the missionaries, and Catholicism was still a distinctly foreign religion. The French continued to be the champion and protector of the missionaries of all nationalities. Priests regularly assumed or claimed civil status. In 1898 the demand was reluctantly granted, ranking a bishop with a governor, and so through the hierarchy and the civil system. Fortunately, the Episcopal churches had the wisdom not to claim this arrangement. The attitude of the French and of the priesthood was responsible for an almost unbroken series of irritating incidents, involving destruction of property, the pressing of claims for indemnities, occasional loss of lives, the serious Tientsin massacres of 1870, extending to other places. Through it all the priests pursued their ministrations; the Orders increased their forces, new Orders came to share the work; convents were introduced, as was previously impossible, and many nuns gave devoted service along various lines and in many sections. The workers came from all the European countries—not yet many from the United States. In part, these missions were financed by accumulating lands in China, loans and business investments. Apparently more attention than formerly was given to caring for the converts, and there was advance in moral standards. Schools were multiplied, but continued to be chiefly for their own constituency, and especially for the priesthood and catechists. The multitudinous organizations of priests and monks laboured with no little confusion of overlapping, due to the lack of orderly supervision. This fault was dealt with by the Propaganda, and improvement made in administration.

Evangelical churches and organizations were ready to take advantage of the opportunities of political pressure and military force. There were few at that time to see any impropriety in leaning on the secular power

for support in spiritual tasks. Missionaries in Shanghai formally requested Lord Elgin to procure toleration for Protestants distinct from that of the Catholics gained through French mediation. S. Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin, acting as interpreters for the American envoy, successfully urged him, against his judgment and wish and over Chinese protest, to insert in the new American treaty a clause providing that citizens of the United States and Chinese converts might "peaceably teach and practice the principles of Christianity," and "in no case be interfered with or molested." Latourette charges that "The Church had become a partner in Western imperialism and could not well disavow some responsibility for the consequences." While the responsibility lies far more heavily on the Catholic Church, whose "missionaries exercised almost the authority of civil officials over their converts," he cannot wholly exempt the Protestants from blame for at least a small part in producing "the political disintegration that marked the beginning of the twentieth century," which led logically to "the anarchy of the third decade."

A WAVE OF MISSIONARY ENTHUSIASM

After the upheavals in Europe, around 1870, the spirit of expansion stirred in all countries and was felt in the missionary enthusiasm. Great Britain was prospering by reason of the industrial revolution, and was touching most parts of the earth in her rapidly growing Empire; and the churches were sharing in the prosperity and were stirred with a passion for Christian world "conquest," which was the thought form of the day.

In the United States, after the reaction from the Civil War, there were notable religious movements, and rapid expansion of world trade, all of which encouraged following up the successes attending most missionary work. The Moody-Sankey revivals and related movements stirred religious zeal. The rapid growth of the Young Men's Christian Association, followed by the Young Women's Christian Association, and especially the rise of the Student Volunteers, the Christian Endeavour and the denominational organizations for young people all had strong missionary aspects. Colleges and seminaries were fired by the missionary passion; and China offered the most romantic field for its expression. The "Oberlin Band" was the first to open a school mission, beginning in Shansi, in 1881, and sending sixteen to man it by 1900. Yale, Harvard, Princeton and others followed later.

Expansion by means of itineration and the location of new stations, with the oral preaching of the Gospel and the winning of individual converts, was the first concern through this period. The success was gratifying. By the end of the century no province was wholly unoccupied, and pioneering spirits had gone into Manchuria and Mongolia. Altogether, not fewer than five thousand missionaries arrived in China during the period. Certainly a considerable number had brief terms, but not a few were to spend half a century and more of devoted labour. Somewhat more than half these had gone from Great Britain; Europe had furnished less than five per cent, with America supplying the rest. Evangelical work was now

reported from four hundred and ninety-eight stations. The communicant membership was not much less than one hundred thousand, and growing rapidly. From 1853 to 1893 it rose from three hundred and fifty to fifty-five thousand and ninety-three.

Most of the organizations put evangelistic work foremost in their programmes. Some organizations came forward for this special purpose. Far the most significant of these was the China Inland Mission, which began in 1866 with the definite objective of entering all the twelve unoccupied provinces. It pressed forward nobly and heroically in this, and in about twenty years had located stations in all, not however in some of them until others had entered. It continues its great emphasis on evangelism.

The largest significance of evangelical missions for China in the nineteenth century is by no means indicated in tables of converts, communicants and churches. They were changing the trend of the national life, replacing ideals, undermining outworn social institutions and laying the foundations for new institutions. Secular contacts and influences were working mightily for change. These were, however, self-seeking in motive, exploiting in method and irritating in effect. Christian missions were unselfishly introducing a new spirit and working for the good of the Chinese people and nation. They had the effect of tempering the political and commercial impacts and of introducing to the Chinese mind spiritual resources and ideals which they had not known.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

It was the evangelical schools which slowly brought China to the surrender of the system of classical education, so impossible in a progressive world, and to the adoption of modern education. Not only did the mission schools demonstrate their value and provide models for the new system, but missionaries organized and directed the beginnings of the new order and the graduates of the mission schools made possible the carrying on of the new system and also became the leaders in the reorganization of the New China's political and economic structure. There had never been in China a school for girls, either public or private, save very rare cases of limited instruction in homes which daughters of friends might be invited to share, until these were introduced by Protestant missionaries.

It was missions, too, that gave the idea, the impetus and the beginnings of a new literature and provided most of the printing presses, until the values of these had so impressed Chinese as to cause them to adopt and develop their own.

Modern medicine, surgery, hygiene and sanitation in China are a direct gift of Christianity through its missions and the help they enlisted. The care of the insane, lepers, orphans and other helpless and defectives was almost unknown in China apart from Christianity, and most of this awaited the Protestants for its introduction.

If in the beginning these indirect and general blessings of the Christian movement were primarily intended to serve the missionary interests and the Christian communities, they came more and more to be consciously aimed at the need and the help of the entire people. In any case, they

are all necessary elements in the planting of Christianity in the life of any people. Ignorance, superstition, cruelty, slavery; suppression of women, neglect of children, the blind, the sick, lepers; lust and licentiousness all find in Christianity a natural enemy, and their victims find in Christian workers active friends. All this became more and more evident as the missionary work expanded and grew in its first century in China. Educational missions were greatly increased after 1860, and continued to expand through this period, Americans leading in this and using the models they knew best. High schools came extensively into use, and colleges began, at least with ambitious and prophetic names. In the important missionary conference in 1877, Mateer stated the purposes of Christian education as (1) to provide a native ministry; (2) to train Chinese teachers for Christian schools which would lead on to "the superior education of the West;" (3) to prepare men to "lead in introducing to China the science and arts of Western civilization;" (4) to "give the native church self-reliance."

Timothy Richard was one of the most far-seeing missionaries in the matter of a comprehensive programme. He insisted that the aim should always look to the whole people and all aspects of their life. He was not able in 1885 to gain support of his home society for his idea for a college, either in Shantung or Shansi. Later, in the Boxer adjustments, in which he represented Shansi, he was able to procure the use of an "indemnity" fund to found a Chinese university, over which he "was given full control . . . for ten years." The remarkable Russian Jewish Episcopal Bishop Schereschewsky brought about the founding of St. John's College, Shanghai, in 1879, which was doing full college work before 1900. Northern Methodists opened in Nanking (1889) and Peking (1890) institutions, called at once universities, which were destined to become union Christian schools of true university rank. That in Peking was doing work of standard college grade in the last few years of the century. After ten years of planning and effort, the Presbyterians were able to open the Canton Christian College and to have twenty-two students pursuing collegiate and theological studies. This was in the next period to grow into a union college, and then into the Chinese controlled Lingnam University. The Congregationalists expanded their high school at Tungchow into the North China College, in 1889.

Conference over educational needs furthered co-operation. In 1890 there was formed *The Educational Association of China* for "the promotion of educational interests in China and the fraternal co-operation of those engaged in teaching."

Medical missions, we have seen, were almost the first form of Christian service tolerated in Canton. In the period 1860-1900 this form of work greatly expanded, and many able physicians served in it. Women physicians came in considerable numbers, the first being Dr. Combs, in Peking, 1873. Before 1900 Chinese physicians educated abroad were joining in the work, and these included at least four women, two of whom became heads of hospitals and won distinction. It is significant that three of the four were daughters of Chinese Christian ministers.

Medical education had also begun in China. There was a considerable

volume of medical literature produced for use of Chinese. Private instruction was given, and training in connection with hospitals. Then, about 1880, Dr. John Mackenzie opened, in Tientsin, the first medical school. This he was able to do by reason of funds given and procured by Li Hung-Chang and his wife, out of gratitude for Mackenzie's successful treatment of a serious illness of Mrs. Li. Another medical college was opened in Hong Kong, in 1886. Throughout this period medical work was looked upon chiefly as an instrument of evangelization, but was so extensively employed as to have at least a physician in almost every large mission station.

With this barest of outlines of growth during forty years, we must pass to the next stage. Dr. Latourette has well said: "The treaties of 1858 and 1860, then, helped to make possible the foreign penetration of China by Occidental culture. In the treaty ports foreign communities arose, partly missionary, partly official, but chiefly commercial, and from them irradiated influences which within fifty years were to bring about a startling alteration in all phases of Chinese life. From 1860 to 1898 there was little rapid outward change in China or in her relations with Occidental culture. During these decades, however, the empire was being quietly honeycombed, and under the ever accumulating pressure from without its resistance was finally to crumble."

IV. PERIOD OF AWAKENED CHINA, 1900-1922

Up to this point Christianity has offered its Christ and His benefits to an unwilling and resisting China. This must not be taken to mean that there has been any forcing of Christian faith upon unwilling proselytes. That is an all too frequent slander of the missionary motive and method. Intelligent people should know that the missionary carries good news only to willing ears and shares its high values with willing recipients, although the benefits overflow inevitably upon just and unjust, even its enemies profiting by his ministrations. There have all along been more timid seekers and secret believers, deterred from open acceptance of the Christian faith by social and civil restraint, than there were followers who came for material advantage or from over-persuasion. From the first, political and commercial exploiters have been quick to interpret every crisis in China as an anti-Christian uprising, due to religious resentment, hoping in this way to divert attention from their own wrongs, which were the real causes of opposition. From this point onward we deal with a China increasingly receptive to the Christian message, and especially to the Christian benefits; a China led increasingly by those who know the need for changing the form of their life, and welcome every help in the difficult task.

Missionaries, being so widely disposed throughout China, having generally so many Chinese friends and being inclined to confidence because of their benevolent purpose, suffered greatly at the hands of the Boxers. Chinese Christians naturally were victims of the uprising because of their connection with foreigners and of their efforts to protect the missionaries in a time when it was endeavoured to root out every foreign thing. The Roman Catholics seem to have lost forty-seven missionaries, including five bishops, while Catholic natives were slain in numbers estimated at above

thirty thousand. The sufferings were most severe in Shensi, Mongolia, Manchuria, Chili and Hupeh Provinces. The Russian mission was small, with only some seven hundred members, a third or more of whom were killed and all their property destroyed. Protestants lost fewer than two hundred—authorities differ—the *Chinese Recorder* reported one hundred and eighty-six, including fifty-two children. The China Inland Mission had suffered much more than any other body. Of Protestant Christians, the average of estimates is about two thousand. While some yielded to the pressure and denied the faith, the heroism and loyalty were such as to silence forever intelligent talk of "rice Christians," so far as the vast majority was concerned.

China was completely humiliated and ready for leadership. Yet the outrages perpetrated by the allied armies in relief of the Siege of Peking and some serious injustices in the imposition of excessive indemnities tended to discredit the religion of these "Christian" nations. On the whole, the receptivity of Chinese far surpassed any previous attitude.

The historic civil examinations based on the classics were abolished in the cities where Boxer violence had raged, for a period of five years, by terms of the treaties. By that time the educational revolution had advanced to the point where these were for the most part no longer desired. The new treaties expressly provided for freedom of missionary work and of native Christianity, while also they carried a needed provision that no Christian was relieved of taxes or duties as a citizen by reason of church membership or in any way exempt from penalties for crimes.

There was a great rush for study of Western learning, and of students going abroad for study. When, at the suggestion, it is said, of Dr. A. H. Smith, about half the American Boxer indemnity fund was returned and devoted to scholarships for Chinese students in the United States and a preparatory college—Tsing Hwa—to fit them for this, they came by hundreds annually. There was multiplication of mission schools of all grades to try to cope with the new demands. The emphasis was on "middle schools," but colleges increased from six to fourteen in six years, from 1900 to 1906, and the number continued to grow until a new policy was adopted. The demands for all kinds of education produced great problems. There was great advance in scientific curricula, in medicine, teacher training and in theological education. Most of the denominations either strengthened what they had or built colleges, if they had not previously done so. The co-operative institutions already begun made rapid progress, and new undertakings were opened, notably Shantung Christian University and the West China Union University, in Chengtu, Boone University, in Hankow, Shanghai Baptist College and Seminary.

Medical education, making rapid advances, came into a new era when, in 1914, the Rockefeller Medical Board was formed and undertook to promote a modern medical system in China. In close co-operation with the medical missionary work the board promoted a number of projects, chief of which was the Peking Union Medical College, which it fostered from 1917 onward, into one of the chief medical-hospital-colleges in all the world.

NEW PLANS FOR NEW PROBLEMS

The complex of problems of a new student group in China unrestrained and unguided by traditions and precedents gave much concern. The Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Volunteer Movement joined with the missions in the effort to serve this great force and to conserve it for China's progress and for the Christianizing of China. The China Inland Mission had from the beginning provided for training its recruits for a time in China before employing them in work. From this example, and to meet a growing need for better training grew the language schools, notably in Nanking and Canton, in connection with the universities, and in Peking the separate North China Union Language School, splendidly developed from 1912 under the lead of Mr. William B. Pettus.

The number of communicant Christians grew from about one hundred thousand in 1900 to approximately two hundred thousand by the Centenary Conference, 1907. By 1922 there were four hundred and two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. This truly wonderful growth should be kept in mind when one hears of the failure or unpopularity of missions in China.

The assembling of five hundred delegates in the Centenary Conference, in Shanghai, 1907, besides six hundred and seventy visitors and representatives of the home boards, was most heartening to missionaries and home constituencies. The review of achievements, the joint consideration of plans and methods, the sense of fellowship and the plans for co-operation and federation all gave courage to the workers and were impressive on Chinese. There was a strength, a unity and a hopefulness in the Christian movement in China which none had before realized. Perhaps some of the steps taken at this conference looking toward federation and union were unwise; they were certainly premature.

The five regional conferences and the one national conference of the Edinburgh Conference Continuation Committee, held by Dr. John Mott, resulted in the formation of what was intended to be a permanent China Continuation Committee. It at once engaged two full-time secretaries, an American and a Chinese, and the next year added Dr. A. L. Warnshuis as National Evangelistic Secretary. The plans were again too elaborate for the time, and some of them unwise. The World War interfered. Yet steps were leading on to a larger unity, and efficiency was promoted.

Extensive evangelistic campaigns, both for students and in connection with the churches, were organized by the Young Men's Christian Association and by the Continuation Committee. As early as 1905, Dr. Johnathan Goforth came into prominence in evangelistic leadership, to continue to the present. First in Honan, then in Manchuria, then in Shantung and elsewhere his work was remarkably blessed, with some regrettable emotional excesses. In 1913, General Feng was converted in one of Dr. Mott's noted meetings, later to unite with the Methodist Church and then to become noted as "the Christian General," encouraging and personally leading in evangelization and Christian training in his armies, until more than thirty thousand of his troops were open Christians. In the political cross-currents his Christianity fell under suspicion, he became at least infected

with Communism, was excommunicated, but continued to profess his loyalty to Christ. Since 1926 he has figured little as a Christian influence. Young Men's Christian Association meetings for students, under lead of Brockman, Gailey and others, exerted tremendous influence. A conference, in 1919, to consider how "the Christian Church can best help China," resulted in a "China for Christ Movement," ably led by Z. T. Yui in a comprehensive programme of education, training, Christian living and evangelism.

Roman Catholics pushed forward with great vigour and gains from the beginning of this period. In 1908, the Pope changed the classification of the United States and Great Britain from missionary countries under supervision of the Propaganda and created a new classification for them. This fact, added to the aggressive Knights of Columbus organization, which probably had much to do with the action, placed upon Catholics in this country responsibility and a measure of autonomy previously lacking. They responded nobly to the challenge to share in the world extension programme of their church. Previously only a very few missionaries had gone to China from the United States, now numerous organizations, both monks and nuns, took up the work and their missionaries have rapidly increased. At the same time systematic methods have produced large income for financial support. The Propaganda devised schemes for reorganizing and reallocating the various working groups, and took much more detailed pains in unifying their efforts. For the first time in their history in China, they definitely undertook to give to their church a measure of national consciousness. Chinese priests were consecrated in increasing numbers, and their training carried to a high degree of efficiency. At the same time educational opportunities for various classes were increased beyond previous times, yet keeping their schools chiefly for their own constituency. Nor did they engage in medical and other social work to any such extent as did the Protestants. China is at present their most important mission country. Their increase was rapid. For 1901 the Propaganda reported a baptized membership of seven hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and forty. In eleven years this increased to one million four hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and eighteen. By 1922 the number was just at two million.

For the first time in their history, the Russian Orthodox undertook aggressive mission work in China immediately following the Boxer settlement. Re-entering Peking, they laboured vigorously and extended their work until they had twenty-one churches and chapels and ten evangelistic stations, twenty schools, more than five thousand baptized Chinese, in five different provinces. Then came the Russian Revolution, bringing disaster to the missionary work.

V. PERIOD OF THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH, 1922-

The National Christian Conference of 1922, and the National Christian Council, which it created, mark the majority of Chinese Evangelical Christianity. From this date, on both sides, Chinese Christians and their missionary creators and patrons proceed increasingly on the theory that the

Christian churches in China are free in Christ to determine their own course in His worship and service, and that they must accept the responsibility. Not all the sending churches and boards agree that it is yet safe or loyal to turn over this authority and responsibility, nor are all Chinese Christians ready to accept all that this involves. Yet missionary policy increasingly proceeds upon this assumption. The older churches are henceforward, at least in theory, counsellors, helpers, contributors to the younger churches in China. Of course, the missionary ideal is to make the missionary and the mission unnecessary. Before that stage is reached a relatively long period of transition must ensue. The name for its processes is "devolution." Chinese Evangelical Christianity is now in process of missionary devolution and native church evolution.

A group of strategists and their echoes had been fostering this idea for a dozen years. The Continuation Committee had especially fostered it. Definite steps had been taken for four years to make the Conference of 1922 the occasion for inaugurating this policy in a large way. In the first instance, it was no doubt the idea and work of American leaders, some of them missionaries, but others what may be called "missionary statesmen." Chinese leaders collaborated ably and enthusiastically. Five commissions, made up of Chinese and foreigners, presented carefully prepared reports on "The Present State of Christianity in China," "The Future Task of the Church," "The Message of the Church," "Leadership," "Co-ordination." Manifestly here was a council of Christian strategy for occupying an empire. A slight majority of the membership were Chinese, and Dr. C. Y. Cheng was permanent chairman. The supreme objective was the creation of the Council, with a membership of a hundred, more than half Chinese. It organized for permanent study and counsel with a view to "co-ordinating Protestantism in China." Its secretariat is composed of three Chinese, one of them a woman, and two foreigners. The first group was composed of E. C. Cheng, K. T. Chung, Miss Y. J. Fan, Henry T. Hodgkin, E. C. Lobenstine. The executive committee included some of the wisest and most trusted Chinese leaders. Of the major bodies, only Southern Baptists did not join in. The China Inland Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance withdrew after a few years. There has been much questioning among missionaries of the wisdom of the move. It has all along explicitly disavowed any purpose to dictate to churches or to interfere with denominations. It must exercise very great influence and its decisions are apt to be morally coercive.

By 1920 the number of ordained Chinese ministers exceeded the number of ordained missionaries, when there were one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight ordained in a total missionary force of six thousand two hundred and four. Self-supporting churches were increasing rapidly. The World War was followed in China, as in all other countries, by a strong nationalistic urge, and this powerfully affected the desire for self-control in the churches. Questions concerning the relations of Christian schools to the national educational system had come forward from 1907 onward. The China Education Commission of sixteen educators, foreign and Chinese, under the chairmanship of Dr. E. D. Burton, in the report based on their

investigations in 1921-2, made recommendations that contributed to larger place for Chinese in this work. Indeed, all phases of progress tended to promote what was popularly called indigeneity of the Christian movement.

What has fittingly been called an anti-Christian movement took definite form in 1922. It was the product of misinformed nationalism, the anti-foreign crusade, communistic agitations, the sceptical criticism of the Renaissance—or New Thought—campaigns, the encouragement definitely of Bertrand Russell and indirectly of Dr. John Dewey—these two pre-eminently among foreigners who were influencing the younger China.

The World's Student Christian Federation were making much of a conference they were holding in the Tsing Hwa College, in April, 1922, attended by members from all parts of China, all the continents and many islands. A counter movement started, and in March formed an Anti-Christian Federation which became very active. It was encouraged by the organization in connection with a conference of national educators of an Anti-Religious Federation. The agitations of these two organizations led to disturbances in Christian schools and a widespread anti-Christian demonstration at Christmas-time. Much more serious was the campaign definitely launched against Christian schools in 1924, for this drew the Government in with demands and regulations which, if literally enforced, would almost destroy the Christian character of these schools.

Then came the fateful incident of May 30, 1925, which set China on fire with anti-foreign indignation and wild with enthusiasm for nationalism. Henceforth it was to be "China for the Chinese." The attack fell most heavily upon the Christian schools, but there was violent feeling and sometimes violent acts against all foreigners and their institutions. Americans suffered least from this, but no one who failed to shout for Chinese autonomy was welcome in China. All Chinese who were associated with foreigners were their "running dogs," and this applied most extensively to members of Christian churches. It became a plain necessity that Chinese be placed increasingly in control of all Christian institutions. For a time the foreign nations sought to withdraw to the great ports all their nationals, including missionaries. Missionary work was largely demoralized. The country, long in the throes of civil war, was also victimized by tens of thousands of bandits. Communists were aggressive in fomenting revolution and hatred of all nationals of "capitalistic" countries. Government demanded the registration of all schools and their control by Chinese, and that in no case should religious studies or worship be compulsory, while in elementary and middle schools it must be no part of the curriculum.

For six years the uncertainty and partial demoralization have continued. The missionary agencies and workers have shown a fine degree of patience, hope and sympathy. Chinese Christians have borne themselves with fortitude and have grown rapidly in capacity for independent conduct of affairs. There is a general feeling among informed students that a Government, many of whose members are Christian communicants and more of them products of Christian schools, once order and peace can be measurably attained, cannot officially persecute or seriously hamper proper activities of Christians and their institutions. This hope was encouraged when the

President, Chiang K'ai-shek, early in 1931, quietly went to Shanghai and on a Wednesday evening was unostentatiously accepted for membership in a Methodist church.

One of the worst features of all this confusion is the confusion among mission supporters in the home bases. As these pages are being written, the confusion in China and the discouragement of the faint-hearted and short-sighted in the supporting countries, particularly in the United States, are not yet much, if at all, abating. But surely these are the birth-pangs of a new epoch. They are times of adjustment, times of proving as by fire. Even in the midst of all the confusion, hearers of the Christian message are numerous and attentive, and converts as numerous as in any previous time. Chinese Christians are learning to stand alone, to endure, to witness; and they are finding the power of God working through them. Baptisms continue in all parts. Some missions are able to report them in greater numbers than ever before.

At the meeting of the National Christian Council, in Hankow, April, 1931, the General Secretary, Dr. C. Y. Cheng, frankly facing and clearly stating difficulties and unsolved problems, gave sound reasons for optimism. There is evident recovery from "spiritual depression that was felt far and wide." "The spirit of dismay and bewilderment has passed." "Signs of life in the Christian Church during the past two years" were the widespread evangelism and Christian nurture promoted by the Five Year Movement and responded to largely; activity of "the Church in practical projects for all the unfortunate and suffering;" the "crowds of both missionaries and native workers" who were inspired by recent meetings of Dr. Kagawa (of Japan), in Hangchow, Shanghai, Soochow, Tsinan, and Weih sien; an obvious rapprochement between the Church and youth; the enormous circulation of "the Greatest Book in the World," which in whole or in parts has been distributed within two years by the three Bible societies in "close to twenty-six million copies, and has won the appreciation of non-Christian scholars as never before." He concludes with the exhortation: "Let us march forward in the strength of Him Who is 'the same yesterday, today and forever!'" And this is the voice of Chinese Christianity.

Within a few years the tragic years will be seen in a new perspective. Christians will reckon 1925 as the year which forced them to see more clearly than ever before that the Kingdom of Christ in China, as in all the world, is a Kingdom of truth, righteousness, brotherhood, love, because it is a Kingdom of redemption.

XIV

THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

KOREAN Christianity has its own history, as have the Korean people their history. Since 1905 it has been under Japanese control and since 1910 formally incorporated in the Empire. "The Christian Movement in Japan" for several years has included Korea in its annual publication. The present and future of Christian missions there are definitely related to the political facts. The same applies to Formosa, which Japan appropriated in 1895. Hence the inclusion of both these in this chapter. Including all her islands and Korea, Japan is a nation of about eighty-five million people, all of kindred stock but with obviously different race types.

The national history begins somewhat more than six hundred years B. C., exact dates probably not reliable for the first thousand years. The myths and legends of the divine origin of land and people, and especially of the royal family, were embodied in the sacred literature of the early eighth century, and are studiously inculcated in the school instruction even in the modern period of scientific culture. The one dynasty that has run through twenty-five centuries worships the divine goddess mother annually at the nation's most sacred shrine of Ise.

The Japanese are a people pre-eminent for patriotism and filial piety, romantic, energetic, versatile. Their sense of personal deity and of essential ethics is perhaps less sharp than that of any other great people. Their hereditary religion is Shin-to—Japanese Kami-no-michi—the *Way of the Gods*. It combines nature worship with Emperor worship and ancestor worship, the latter being less developed than in China. Totemism, especially fox worship and horse worship, were, until this century, prominent. In the sixth century Buddhism came in and gradually became practically universal in its numerous sects, and for some twelve hundred years has been more distinctly a religion than Shinto, which is the absolutely universal cult of patriotic devotion. While the story is not to be trusted in detail, it is probably true that a Nestorian, called in Japan Rimitsu, was present at the court of Shomu, 724–728; and that he did influence the Empress Komyo. Whether we may believe that her title, "Light and Illumination," was in recognition of her Christian faith or not, it is notable that the important Amida Buddhism, like its counterpart in North China, teaches salvation through faith alone in a divine redeemer. Records show that Japanese went to China for study in the centuries of the early Nestorian missions.

We have seen how the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans had a period of flourishing missions from 1549 to 1637. Daring priests continued occasionally to attempt to revive the work, but were either killed or expelled, the last instance being in 1715, when Father Sidotti died after seven years in

prison. Japanese interpreters insist that their opposition was fundamentally not religious, but in the interests of national safety and integrity.

Japan rigidly excluded all foreigners and all foreign influences from that time until 1853. Not only did she permit no foreigner even to visit in Japan; she would permit no Japanese who on any account got away from the home land and touched another to return, under penalty of death. A case in point was the carefully planned trip of an American merchant, King, on his ship, the *Morrison*, as late as 1837, from Macao to return to their native land seven Japanese. Every precaution was taken to make it an entirely friendly approach. The missionaries Gützlaff, S. Wells Williams and Peter Parker were taken along. Careful statements of the friendliest nature were sent on shore at Yedo. Next morning, without warning, they were fired upon. They had the same experience at Kagoshima and, on the urgency of the Japanese refugees, did not try at Nagasaki.

From 1637 to 1854 foreign trade with Japan was limited to a few small shiploads a year, all conducted through a Dutch post on a small island off Nagasaki, the Japanese holding out successfully against all the methods tried for expanding commerce.

The Christian forces could not wait patiently for Japan's invitation. Her people needed the Gospel. Both Catholics and Protestants sought to make the Loo Choo Islands a doorway into Japan, with no success and with little results from efforts in Napha, the port. The Roman Church had proof that their followers continued in Japan. In 1820 some of them came to buy Christian books in Batavia. In 1826 the Shogun tried to extradite for execution six who had escaped to Fusan, Korea, where a Christian colony had continued since the persecution of Iyeyasu. In 1831 priests in the Philippines baptized seventeen Japanese who were carrying metal symbols of their faith. In 1832 the Pope set up a vicarate of Korea and the Loo Choo Islands. In 1844 Forcade was left a Napha in spite of all opposition, and in 1855 three other priests landed by trickery and persistence. By 1851 they had baptized one man. In 1846 an English ship put off Dr. Bettelheim, his wife and two children, at Napha. He had come under the auspices of "The Loo Choo Naval Mission," an organization of English churchmen in the navy. He was relieved in 1853 by Moreton, who had sailed with Perry. He remained two years. Four had been baptized. The work was given up.

When, in 1784, the son of the Korean ambassador at Peking was baptized by a Jesuit priest, he returned to preach, and persecution began. This introduced an era of remarkable heroism and loyalty during which tens of thousands suffered martyrdom until, in 1865, an imperial edict decreed the extermination of Christianity. A bishop and seven European priests were tortured to death, and with the slaughter of eight thousand and the scattering of all the survivors the work of extermination seemed complete.

RAPID RISE TO MODERNISM

Once Japan broke with her past, she moved with unparalleled rapidity to complete modernity. From absolute seclusion and exclusiveness, in less than fifty years she took her seat in the councils of the nations as one of

the five first-class "powers" among whom ambassadors are exchanged. This quick transition is divided into certain stages by clearly marked events that bear definitely upon Christian progress.

Perry's patient and skillful negotiation of a trade treaty for the United States on his visit—divided into two—1853-4—was, of course, quickly followed by similar treaties with the other trading nations. This did not provide any legal way for the missionary, but only for the opening of certain ports to trade. The next epochal event was the Revolution of 1868, in which the Mikado was restored to actual rulership after being relieved of that burden for seven hundred years by the Shogun, while the Mikado played the rôle of Divine Ruler through his Shogun and the feudal daimyos. This feudal system was at once seen to be unfit for the new course of Japan. Most of the lords patriotically united to change the order, and in a few months brought the recalcitrants to terms. The Emperor was absolute ruler.

A few years more sufficed to see that absolute monarchs were not suited to modern nations. In 1889 a constitution was adopted and a new form of national life began. Japan was still a second-rate nation and extraterritoriality was maintained by the "civilized" nations. By 1895 Japan had diplomatically won the consent of the "powers" to place her on the highest footing at the end of the century. The humiliating defeat of China in 1894-5 had proved her worth.

In 1900 Japan enters upon her career as a "world power," and adopts the national fashion of building empire at the expense of other peoples' liberties. She selected Germany as her model, and organized her armaments after German example and instruction. Korea was in the path of Russia's needs, as well as Japan's. It was to "preserve Korea's independence" that Japan had fought China in 1894, and she had remained to "assist" Korea in her affairs. Now, in 1904, it was necessary to save Korea from Russia, and at the close of that war Japan had to take even closer supervision, assuming responsibility for all Korea's international relations, and pressing her "protection" over into Manchuria.

In the mutual interest of their plans and to hold Germany and Russia in check in their threats to China's integrity, Great Britain and Japan made an alliance for a term of five years. After three years this seemed so advantageous that it was renewed in 1909 for a period of ten years. This determined Japan's affiliation in the World War. Her logical course then would have been to join with the Central Powers, which Japanese expected certainly to win. It is greatly to Japan's credit that she held to her alliance. Yet her war assignment was such that in case of Germany's winning, she and Japan could easily have divided the control of Asia between them. In 1918 Japan was bewildered, and in difficult lines. She had become an industrial nation in recent years, had raised her standards of living greatly. The economic condition was oppressive. The conscience of the world had checked her exploitation of China in 1915-6. Imperialism was for the moment condemned, and Germany was in ruins. Apparently Japanese policy was wrong. At the Washington Conference, 1922, her statesmen came upon a new ideal.

The course of the United States Congress, in insulting Japan by offensive phrasing in immigration laws, against the urgent pleas of the President and the Secretary of State, made an extremely difficult situation. Communism was threatening Japan internally, and there were other serious questions at home. There were two parties struggling. The party of peaceful progress and international friendliness won, with the strong support of the Prince Regent, and Japan was for a time given the opportunity, which she eagerly accepted, of being the outstanding national exponent of peace and brotherhood among the nations.

EARLIEST MISSIONARY EFFORTS

While all these national and international developments extensively affected missionary work, the periods of its progress do not coincide with the epochs in national evolution. Until 1859 no missionary work was permitted. The former attitude toward "the evil religion," and the edicts prohibiting Christianity remained in force.

In Perry's fleet was a sailor, Johnathan Goble, a Free Baptist, who had joined the fleet in the hope of aiding thereby in getting missionary work going. Perry's interpreter was S. Wells Williams, China, whose great concern also was Christian missions.

It was fortunate for every interest that America's first official representative in Japan was a brave, considerate, able and devout Christian, Townsend Harris. He came as consul to Shimoda, in 1856, and negotiated a new treaty in 1859 which provided that from July 4, 1859, certain ports should be open to residence of American citizens. Americans were permitted the free exercise of their own religion and to erect suitable places of worship. This was the signal for which several denominations were waiting. Already books of general information, published by the missions in China, had been republished in Japan and eagerly studied; and some of these, notably one by Dr. Bridgman, carried a good deal of Christian teaching. Chaplains on some of the ships taught young men English in exchange for Japanese. This offered suggestion for an opening.

In 1859 there came a number of men, some of them to prove prominent among "the Makers of the New Japan." McGowan, of the Baptist Mission in Ning-po, taught a class of young men several weeks in Nagasaki. They gladly accepted from him copies of the Chinese-English New Testament, but on the orders of the Governor returned them all. The American Episcopal Church ordered two of their missionaries to leave China and begin work immediately in Japan. The Presbyterian Board sent Dr. Hepburn, and the Reformed Church, Brown, Simmons and Verbeck. In 1860 Johnathan Goble was back as the first Baptist missionary, after advocating missions to Japan in both his own country and England. In that same year the Southern Baptists appointed three. Rohrer and Bond, with their wives, sailed on the *S. S. Forest*, which was never heard of again, but C. H. Toy remained at home to become a famous scholar. Japanese young men were eager for Western learning and to know the English language; and the Government encouraged this. In 1869 Verbeck, with the approval of his board, accepted an official request to open a school

in Tokyo, out of which developed the Imperial University. Indeed, it was the beginning of Japan's system of modern education. The ability, culture, courage and tact of these young men who went to Japan to teach, in order that they might introduce the Gospel, gave to Christianity an initial advantage such as it has hardly had in any country. As medical missionary, translator, writer, preacher and Kingdom statesman, Dr. J. C. Hepburn laboured until 1892, then seventy-seven years old. So great was his contribution to Japan that in 1905 the Emperor recognized his ninetieth birthday by decorating him with the Third Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun. The same honour was conferred, in 1877, on Guido F. Verbeck. He was not only a great missionary, teacher, translator, founder of the national university system; he was the most trusted foreign counsellor to the Government. Others were only less distinguished in this great galaxy of men who gave to Japan so noble an introduction to Christianity.

In 1869 came Greene, first representative of the American Board. In 1828 a Christian merchant in Brookline, Massachusetts, inaugurated in his home a monthly meeting for prayer for the conversion of the world. At their initial meeting, this Mr. Ropes called special attention to Japan and took a collection amounting to twenty-seven dollars and eighty-seven cents for a mission to Japan, and sent it to the Board. Present in this meeting was a young minister whose son, forty-one years later, was the board's pioneer to Japan. Before he was sent, the board had through the years accumulated more than six thousand dollars from unsolicited sums sent in for a mission to Japan.

It was in 1869, also, that Miss Kidder arrived, the first single lady missionary, to teach girls, while in 1871 the Woman's Union Missionary Society sent a representative to open a school for girls in Yokohama. It was unwise, even had it been possible, to try to gain converts in this period in any numbers. The moderation and consideration of the evangelical missionaries, and their very great contribution to the leaders of Japan's transition were the best possible means for commending their religion and overcoming prejudice.

Some few there would be who must be baptized. By the beginning of 1872 there had been nine such, so far as known. The first was in 1864, when Dr. Ballaugh baptized his teacher, who insisted on taking all the risk. Then, in 1866, Dr. Verbeck baptized the two brothers Murata, whose romantic story cannot here be told. For eleven years they had in most remarkable fashion been learning Christ, having been led to this by the "accidental" finding of a Portuguese New Testament floating in the sea, when Wakasa, the more important of the two, was in command of a patrol watching some foreign ships. Now, a man of high official position in his province, he comes with his brother for baptism. But all such baptisms were done with utmost secrecy.

While sentiment was rapidly changing, there were many to oppose all change, and especially to antagonize all Christian activity and to emphasize the danger of these foreign teachers. In 1866 one prominent Japanese sent two nephews to the United States to be educated. In 1867 a naval officer memorialized the Mikado's Government against "the religion of

Jesus," which he said was being promulgated to an alarming extent in the open ports, a religion which he said was "entirely based upon deceit, immorality, and imposition." In 1866 an official gazette was distributed to the effect that "The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given." Upon the American minister's finding this out, a united protest was made by foreign representatives. They procured a modification in the form, but not in the meaning.

In 1869 a deliberative conference of the clans heard Dr. Verbeck's plea and argument for religious toleration. In 1871 a pamphlet was circulated by a prominent Japanese scholar and teacher, as if by a foreigner. Praising the liberal spirit of the Emperor, he seeks to show him that the secret of power of the Western nations is in their religion. He boldly advises not only the abolition of the proscriptions of Christianity, but actually establishing Christianity as the official religion of Japan. Let the Emperor be baptized "and become the chief of the church, and be called the leader of the millions of his people."

By 1872, in some centres sentiment encouraged ignoring the prohibition. A series of prayer-meetings of missionaries and other English-speaking people in Yokohama was continued through the first week of January, 1872. Several Japanese students attended, and as many as half a dozen of them openly prayed. The outcome was the organization of the first Protestant church of Japan, on March 10. Its membership was eleven, nine young men baptized then and two middle-aged men previously baptized. This first church was autonomous from the start. They chose an elder and a deacon from their number, and named their organization "The Church of Christ in Japan." Mr. Ballaugh was the first pastor. How far they were counselled by missionaries in their action is not reported.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Catholics had taken advantage of the first opportunity to move from their feeble outpost in the Loo Choo's to the mainland. Girard was made Superior of the mission, sent a plea to Paris for four missionaries, and went to Yedo in 1859, where he was recognized as a priest temporarily acting as interpreter for the French Consul. Two months later another priest settled at Hakodate and proceeded at once to erect a small chapel, and seems to have made himself popular for four years, when he retired. Another priest settled in Yokohama, in 1861, to erect a church, for foreigners only, but with the definite intention of making it a mission base. In 1862 the Loo Choo mission was closed, having gained one convert in the eighteen years.

Opening work in Nagasaki, in 1863, the priests built a church memorial of the martyrs of 1597, which was dedicated with much ardour, in 1865. Almost at once worshippers began to come in, and more and more it was found that at various places there were secret Christians. With the utmost caution to protect themselves from publicity, persecutions set in in 1867, and before the new freedom of 1873 as many as four thousand had been deported. They reckoned their Christians at this time at fifteen thousand,

besides many thousands who were descendants of the former missionary converts, but had not yet identified themselves with the new mission. It was a notable message cabled by Bishop Petitjean to the Paris Society, in March, 1873: "Edicts against Christians removed. Prisoners freed. Inform Rome, Propagation of Faith, Holy Infancy (name of an order sending five nuns to conduct an orphanage). Need immediately fifteen missionaries." Already the Catholics were stationed in Hakodate, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe and Nagasaki. They proposed to advance.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX

We must pass over some incidental contacts of Russians with Japanese and a few possible converts prior to 1859, when Russia opened her consulate at Hakodate with a Greek Orthodox chaplain in attendance. In 1861 there came a young priest for this position who had longed for missionary service and was particularly interested in Japan. Ivan Kasatkin took the ordination name Nicolai, which he made famous in missionary history by fifty-one years of service marked by extraordinary ability, devotion, wisdom of method and high character. His idea was to make the Orthodox faith indigenous from the start. He attracted and trained men of character, culture and consecration. He had very few missionaries ever to assist him. He so won the confidence of all classes that when he refused to desert his flock when the war with Russia came, he was granted almost complete freedom of action. During the war he voluntarily refrained from conducting the worship of his churches, counselled his priests to pray for the success of their country, which as a loyal Russian he could not do. It would be pleasant to record the stories of some of the noble Japanese converts, workers and priests, like Sawabe, Ono and many others. It is no wonder that, upon his death, in 1912, the Archimandrite left a church of thirty thousand with congregations at many points in Yeddo and Hondo. Nor can we be surprised that there has been little growth since his death. Russia's history since 1914 has not commended the Russian Church. We have thus anticipated the history and reluctantly content ourselves with this brief paragraph about the Greek Orthodox mission.

I. RAPID ADVANCE, 1873-1889

On February 19, 1873, the Government ordered the removal of the boards which, for a century and a half, had proclaimed that Christianity was prohibited on penalty of death to any Christian or even the Christian's God. The edict was not repealed, because the Government feared the populace, and possibly they were influenced by a certain pride of position. In view of much discussion on the subject, Otis Carey quotes the American minister, DeLong, "that no particular man or government is entitled to the credit of . . . these results. They are the fruit of the earnest labour of foreign representatives at this court, Christian missionaries in this empire, and Christian statesmen and gentlemen abroad who had access to the embassy and improved the opportunity they enjoyed." The embassy here referred to was one sent in 1871 to study in Europe and America the con-

ditions and factors of civilization and government, and to try to effect new treaties which would do away with extraterritoriality and put Japan on an equality with "the most enlightened nations." Everywhere this embassy met vigorous criticism of Japan's intolerance and a demand for legal religious equality as a prior condition to the recognition asked for. Without waiting to return, the embassy began, and others entered upon, a campaign for changing Japan's position. The removal of the edict boards preceded by eight months the return of the embassy. A vigorous controversy ensued. The Government assigned as their reason that the laws were so well known that the boards were not needed; but tolerated the missionary activities.

The response to the new freedom was instant and continuous. More new missionaries came in one year than were in Japan already, bringing the total to eighty-seven, representing ten organizations, seven of the United States, one Canadian and the two Church of England bodies. By 1881 the missionaries numbered four hundred and fifty-one. Instead of the one church of nine members there were now two hundred and forty-nine, with a membership of approximately twenty-eight thousand. Ninety-two of the churches were wholly self-supporting. There were one hundred and forty-two ordained Japanese preachers, two hundred and sixty-five other preachers and workers, besides seventy Bible-women. In fifteen boarding schools there were two thousand seven hundred and nine boys, and three thousand six hundred and sixty-three girls in thirty-nine schools, while forty-seven day schools enrolled three thousand two hundred and ninety-nine. Fourteen theological seminaries had two hundred and eighty-seven students, while three schools were training ninety-two Bible-women. The membership figures include baptized children.

It is quite impossible to give the details of their progress. In September, 1873, in Tokyo, the second church was organized, in connection with the Presbyterian mission, but on the same basis as the first, seven of the eight members coming from the Yokohama church, which by this time had fifty. In point of time, the Baptists had come second, for the four missionaries, the Gobles and Browns, constituted themselves into a church in Yokohama, in March. They baptized a Japanese in July, but this can hardly yet be called a Japanese church. Kobe and Osaka had churches founded in 1874, when the Yokohama church had grown to one hundred and nineteen members, twelve of whom joined a theological class under Dr. Brown, the beginning of theological seminaries.

NEESIMA

About 1858 or 1859 a sixteen-year-old boy in Yedo (Tokyo) borrowed from a comrade Bridgman's Chinese Atlas of the United States, which enabled him to contrast conditions with his own country. Next he saw a Bible in Chinese, which he borrowed and read, at night out of fear. In a story which he wrote when his English was still very crude, he tells us: "From time to time my mind was filled to read English Bible, and purposed to go to Hakodate to get English or American teacher of it. Therefore I asked of my prince and parents to go thither. But they had

not allowed to me for it, and were alarmed at it. But my stableness would not destroy by their expostulations, and I kept my thoughts, praying only to God: please! let me reach my aim." At length he risked his life, for the death penalty applied to efforts to leave Japan. He stowed away on a ship to Shanghai. There he sold one of his two Samurai swords and bought him an English Bible. He worked his way to Boston on a ship, enduring hardships and insults from the sailors. The owner of the ship was Mr. Alpheus Hardy, a Christian deeply interested in missions. He educated the Japanese boy, Joseph Hardy Neesima (Niishima), in Phillips Academy, Amherst College and Andover Seminary. When the Japanese embassy arrived in America, 1871, they employed Neesima as interpreter and offered him every inducement to enter government service. But his heart was in higher service. Mr. Hardy was Chairman of the American Board's Prudential Committee, and Neesima was to go back in connection with the board. At its annual meeting he was to make an address, for which he made careful preparation. When he stood before the body, one passion swept him. In a tearful plea he said: "I cannot go back to Japan without money to found a Christian college, and I am going to stand here until I get it." He got nearly five thousand dollars, subscribed at once, and went home in 1874, ten years after he had run away to learn the English Bible. He was able to open a school in the sacred Buddhist city of Kyoto, where missionaries failed. Overcoming all difficulties and violent opposition, he got his school going in 1875, to guide it into the great Doshisha University, until his death, in 1890, an unequivocal Christian institution rendering untold service to Christianity in Japan and far beyond.

In 1872 a retired captain of the United States Army, L. L. Janes, whose wife was a daughter of Dr. John Scudder, of India, accepted an invitation to teach a military school at Kumamoto. He gained the respect and confidence of his students. An invitation to such as cared to come to his home Sunday evenings for study of the English Bible was accepted by a number. On the last Sunday in January, 1876, forty of these young men, on a high hill above the city, held a meeting under a spreading pine which was still standing in 1923. There they pledged themselves, writing their names in blood from their wrists, to follow Christ and "to enlighten the darkness of the empire by preaching the Gospel, even at the sacrifice of their lives." Commotion and persecution followed, in the school and in the homes. Some of the group were imprisoned, some disowned and even urged to suicide for the family honour. Bibles were burned. Thirty of the members of this famous "Kumamoto Band" learned of Neesima's school just opening in Kyoto, and entered it. Six of those, and another who joined when the persecution grew severe, became distinguished in the service of Christianity and of their nation, such as Paul Kanamori, Yokoi, and Ebina, who surrendered the pastorate of the great Kumiai Church in Yokohama to accept the presidency of the Doshisha at a critical time in its history.

In their eagerness to win recognition for progress as a modern people, Christianity, especially Protestant Christianity, seemed to many Japanese a most important factor. Its superiority to Buddhism and to Shinto as

a religion and as an inspiration to progress was evident. When Buddhist bonzes began reforms it was obvious to many that they were only imitators, that they had failed to make Buddhism function as a force of regeneration and evolution. Increasingly public men regarded Shinto as a system of patriotism and not a religion in the same sense that Christianity is. There were those who advocated making Christianity the national religion, an idea which found no encouragement from the American missionaries. On the other hand, there continued to be strong opposition to the new religion. In 1879 foreign teachers in the Imperial University organized in opposition to Christianity and facilitated a campaign of scepticism from Europe. The Department of Education consistently opposed Christianity. Even so, the Christian movement progressed. In one year, 1879, the membership increased sixty per cent. In 1880 two translations of the New Testament were completed, first by Dr. Nathan Brown, Baptist, and shortly that on which a committee had been working since their appointment by the first Conference of Missionaries, 1872. On this one, S. R. Brown, Greene, Hepburn, and Maclay had been ably assisted by five Japanese Christian scholars, to one of whom, Matsuyama, the committee attributed "mainly, if not altogether," "whatever virtue there was in their Japanese text." In the same year Japanese Christians, who had begun holding conventions two years before, had a two-days' meeting in the Public Park, Ueno, Tokyo, where thousands witnessed the worship and heard the Gospel. It was also in 1880 that the Young Men's Christian Association began, to prove so influential with young men both in commercial life and among students, and in the twentieth century to take important part in missionary strategy.

Roman Catholics suffered in influence with the progressive elements because of their connection in the Japanese mind with the unfavourable impression made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; because of their continued and characteristic intimacy with political interests, and because they were not recognized as representative of America, whose influence was dominant in this era of Japan's growth. Still they continued energetically and heroically to discover and relate the "Separtes" of the older Christianity and to win new converts, so that by 1889 they numbered about forty thousand.

II. PERIOD OF REACTION, 1889-1900

In the five years, 1884-1889, the evangelical membership had increased almost five hundred per cent. In the next ten years it grew less than fifty per cent. Christians and others compared these two facts with discouraging impression on the Christians and with delight by their enemies in Japan and in other countries. For the time being, it seemed to be overlooked that a fifty per cent increase in ten years would ordinarily be regarded as healthy and encouraging growth.

Widespread indifference was experienced where previously enthusiastic readiness to hear and approve had been found. There was growing antagonism in many quarters, official and popular, manifest especially in the middle and higher classes. Government placed increasingly difficult regulations upon Christian schools. The teaching of religion, even in outside

hours, came to be prohibited in such schools as sought credit for their pupils who were to pass on into state schools, or asked for their young men the exemption from military service by which the Government encouraged higher education. There was almost continuous and sometimes acute, even bitter, friction between missionaries and native ministers and churches. Lack of harmony was all too obvious among the missionaries, due to differences in theology, mission policies and personal interests. The most outstanding storm centre was the Doshisha University. Up to this time all property of all missions must be held in the name of Japanese. Naturally, the Doshisha had been in ultimate Japanese control from the start. Its trustees grew increasingly indifferent to, and defiant toward, the American Board, its foreign supporters and the Japanese Congregational Church. Religious teaching, even of the Bible, was reduced until in the Middle School it was abolished, and the religious elements were eliminated from the commencement exercises. Professors, both Japanese and foreign, were retained who ridiculed and opposed Christianity in classroom and privately, some of them publicly. Early in 1898 the trustees went the length of revising the "Fundamental Principles" of the Constitution, which Neesima had caused to be declared "unchangeable." And this was done in order to void the statement: "Christianity is the foundation of the moral education promoted by this company."

The American Board now sent an able lawyer, Mr. McIvor, a member of the board, who had previously been Consul-General in Japan, to try to save the day. He was ably assisted by Count Okuma. When he finally was driven to threaten to carry the matter through the highest courts of Japan and had pointed out that, even if he lost, the loss of faith of foreigners in the integrity of Japanese would have far-reaching business and financial effects, the trustees graciously resigned and permitted their places to be filled by men who restored at least the nominal Christian character of the school and placed at its head one who would seek to conciliate the interests involved. In 1902, to anticipate, Hon Kataoka Kenkichi, Speaker of the Lower House of the National Diet, accepted the presidency, only to be taken by death the next year. He was a man of stalwart faith, who had refused all entreaty of politicians at least to surrender for a short time his eldership in the Presbyterian Church for fear his Christianity would prevent his election.

Omitting numerous other incidents which would show in detail the reaction, it must suffice to say that in the Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, the three missionary speakers on Japan gave almost unrelieved expression to pessimism over the situation and outlook. It remained for the lone Japanese spokesman to give the needed note of hope and reassurance.

CAUSES OF RETARDED PROGRESS

We must take a brief look at the causes of this retardation. It has already been suggested that it was, after all, only relative. The hope that a nation would be Christianized in one generation, or even in one century, was extravagant and cherished only by ignoring history.

It was too much, too, to expect that Christian schools would be accepted at their own estimate and on their own terms by a Government eagerly working out its own school system by which it proposed to abolish illiteracy, modernize the nation and at the same time maintain the historic patriotism which had ever made the nation the supreme end. Christians, missionaries and converts, justly appraised most highly their own contribution to Japanese progress and their worth to the nation; but they had no right to be disappointed if Japan as a whole failed to give them social, political and religious influence corresponding to their actual worth. In official positions and in recognition their standing was great out of all proportion to their numbers.

The inroads of what was then called the "new theology," destructive criticism and agnostic science weakened the convictions of mission schools and seriously affected the ministry, as also they caused division and controversy.

Japan was changing to an industrial and commercial career, and many of her leaders had become convinced that commerce and finance, not religion, constituted the power of America and of the European nations. This view came to be an extensively propagated doctrine. The growing militarism, always in honour in Japan and now learned afresh from the West, was stimulated by the war with China.

Buddhist priests and some Shinto leaders aggressively organized and campaigned against Christianity as being alien, ill-adapted to Japanese temperament and ideals, involving disloyalty to their history, traditions, pride and honour. Buddhists, especially, appropriated and extensively employed Christian methods, Sunday schools, lecture halls, a Young Men's Buddhist Association, newspapers, tracts, religious schools, etc.

Christianity set moral and ethical standards which were at variance with, and usually too high for, the Japanese conscience in important particulars, as they are always too severe for unregenerate human nature.

Finally, we must keep in mind that Japan was passing into a new stage of her national evolution. For a time she was increasingly conscious of her backward position and eager to learn and to be helped. This had largely to pass. Self-sufficiency and self-assertion must control if maturity is gained. Always in such cases the pupil nation's faith in itself outruns the judgment of the teachers, and conflicts arise. Japan adopted her Constitution in 1889. She put into it an article declaring religious neutrality and, apart from Shinto, separation of State and Church, with religious freedom. She pressed for complete equality with the "most favoured nations," but was able to secure only the pledge that this would be put into effect in 1899.

For Christianity, this period of a dozen years of retarded growth was far from an unmixed evil, and its value to Japan was not lessened by the reappraisements which were made. The numerous and powerful Buddhists were eagerly seeking to have Buddhism made the state religion and to secure dominating influence in state schools. The reaction against Christian positions and claims brought to light principles which thwarted the Buddhist ambitions. Christian schools were driven more clearly to define and accept their distinctive functions as religious institutions, and

the Doshisha was saved to Christianity. The Unitarian influence, which was so widely pervading the dominant Independent Christianity, was revealed in its weaknesses and measurably checked. Christian unity was promoted in the outcome of the troubles and conflicts, the churches were purged of many superficial adherents and membership put on a sounder basis, newer and safer methods of Christian work were adopted. The whole Christian movement came into more dependence upon God and less upon education, culture and political patronage. The forty-two thousand four hundred evangelical members were prepared for a better era so soon as they could accept their task and be lifted into an optimistic undertaking of it. The fifty-seven thousand Roman Catholic members proved that they were not a spent or defeated force.

Inasmuch as Formosa was incorporated in this period, 1895, we may here glance at the work there. This island is largely of Chinese population, with a Malay element and a growing number of Japanese. English Presbyterians opened work in 1865, and Canadian Presbyterians in 1872, while the Anglicans entered, along with the Anglican Japanese Church, in 1897, with the approval of the Japanese administration. The great missionary was the Canadian, George L. Mackay, who built up an indigenous church which effected union with English Presbyterian churches in 1912. In 1923 there were twenty-one missionaries, eight thousand three hundred and ninety-seven communicants. The Riu Kiu Islands were annexed in 1878. Missions, begun in 1846, had little success, but were undertaken anew about 1890 by Japanese Christians and by Episcopal and Baptist missionaries.

III. RETURNING PROSPERITY, 1900-1908

With the new status upon which Japan entered just at the turn of the centuries, with recognition as in all respects on an equality with the other "first-class powers," the national sensitiveness largely passed away. Great Britain's relations were becoming ever more friendly and the United States remained cordial. The Missionary Conference in New York stimulated fresh interest in missions, and especially did it mark the beginning of an unprecedented enlistment of laymen in sympathetic support. The Boxer trouble and the taking over of the Philippines from Spain gave Americans an interest in the East greater than they ever had before.

A series of meetings and incidents in 1900 indicated and promoted a turn in the Christian tide.

A convention of those interested in Christian schools defined their complaints against the Government's attitude, and favourable changes were soon forthcoming.

Dr. Clark, "Father of the Christian Endeavour," made a second visit (after a first in 1892) and put new life into these organizations of young Christians.

The sole representative of the Unitarian Mission returned to America. His expressed reason was that Japan, having entered upon complete "autonomous commercial and practical life," should have also "an autonomous religious life." He magnified the fact that his organization was the first to take such action. It is known that an additional reason was the

inability to procure financial support. The Unitarian organization in Japan did not profess to be a church. While some proceeds of an invested fund were used to help sustain "Unity Hall," in Tokyo, the retirement was a practical confession of failure and had wholesome bearing on the Unitarian tendencies in evangelical churches.

The Third General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan, in October, was attended by almost four hundred missionaries, besides around fifty from China and elsewhere. It considered, earnestly and hopefully, various subjects. Three prominent Japanese spoke on temperance, work for ex-convicts, and prostitution. Three important committees were created: one was to promote co-operation with the Japanese in a general evangelistic campaign; one to effect a uniform translation of about a hundred of the best hymns; perhaps most important of all, a committee on union and co-operation, which in 1902 effected a permanent organization as "The Standing Committee of Co-operating Missions in Japan." This committee was to render great service for nearly a quarter of a century until merged with and lost in the Christian Council. This committee inaugurated the publication of *The Christian Movement in Japan*, an annual volume, which has included Korea for many years.

All this was the beginning of a new aggressiveness. The Young Men's Christian Association fell in with the general evangelistic movement and brought out Dr. Mott for remarkable meetings in the national as well as the Christian schools. Prominent evangelists from abroad joined in the work, among them Drs. R. A. Torrey, G. F. Pentecost and H. Grattan Guinness, and in 1907 General Booth, whose reception was most enthusiastic and his tours and meetings a means of help. He was received by the Emperor and allowed to wear his Army uniform to the Palace. The Army had entered Japan in 1895, doing its characteristic work and utilizing natives from the first.

Many indications of popular and official friendliness and favour could be cited. Evangelistic meetings were conducted in a "Christian Union Evangelistic Hall" on an open square facing the main entrance to the National Exhibition in Osaka, for five months, in 1903, at which it is recorded that two hundred and forty-six thousand attended, and some notable conversions resulted.

Students from Korea and China poured into Japan for the new education there provided. The Student Union of the Young Men's Christian Association did effective work among these. In 1907 the holding of a Conference of the World's Christian Student Federation was significant. Marquis Ito sent a letter of commendation with a contribution of ten thousand yen for expenses. A Buddhist conference sent a friendly greeting by a special deputation.

In the war with Russia, Christians utilized most effectively the opportunity for disproving one of the most damaging charges against them, that they were not loyal to the Emperor and the nation. They not only took their places in the service, but ministered in astonishing degree to the soldiers in the camps, to the wounded and invalided as they were returned, and to the families of soldiers at the front.

The Japanese Church offered to provide chaplains. This was declined, but the Young Men's Christian Association's services were accepted. Under the direction of one foreign and two Japanese secretaries, this service was so efficient and so appreciated as to gain high approval. The Emperor and the Empress contributed ten thousand yen for the work and went on afterward to give financial support to a number of Christian charities. The Buddhists undertook to emulate the services of the Young Men's Christian Association, but failed in efficiency and popularity. During this period Buddhism came in for much criticism for its failure as an ethical force in the life of the nation.

IV. CONFUSION AND CRISIS, 1908-1915

The pendulum was not long in making another backward swing. The forces of opposition were clearly introducing confusion and discouragement by about 1908. It became quite customary to hear missionary speakers lament that the Christian opportunity in Japan had been lost.

The pride of success in defeating Russia was somewhat checked when the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth came to be known. There was to be no indemnity, and Japan was not to get all the annexations, nor all the great rewards of conquerors that had been expected. It could not be generally known just how opportune the peace was and that Mr. Roosevelt's timely intervention had barely rescued Japan's campaign from collapse. Disappointment expressed itself in rage, in which Christian property was destroyed and anger against America for a time mounted.

Materialism and blind nationalism swept the people. Agnosticism and atheism swept the universities. Baron Kato, in 1907, delivered a powerful attack on Christianity before the Imperial Academy, which was circulated in a pamphlet and aroused much discussion. There was generally a reproduction of the situation of the previous decade. Japan was feeling the pressure of her overcrowded territory and her inability to carry the economic load of the new order. Ambitions for expansion were in conflict with those of the Western nations. Christian principles seemed to prohibit the methods of expansion, and yet had not restrained the "Christian nations" from employing them. Within the churches there was a reassertion of the independent spirit of the Japanese, with excessive demands for control. Presbyterian missionaries and their home boards, especially, found it difficult to compose these differences, and other denominations had similar trouble. Liberalism in theology again asserted itself, and the unity and harmony of the missions were strained. Buddhists entered upon a fresh, vigorous campaign to revive and reform their faith and to discredit Christianity. New native religions, formed by a sort of eclecticism, had a period of popularity and rapid growth. This was especially true of Tenrikyo.

KOREA

Inasmuch as Japan came into virtual control of Korea at the close of the Russian War, and formally annexed it in 1910, it will be fitting to summarize missions in Korea at this point. Here was a condition far different from that for the moment distressing missionaries and their

supporters in Japan. Korea had succeeded in holding out longer than China or Japan as the "Hermit Nation." Gützlaff had touched one of her ports and distributed tracts. In 1873 James Ross, Scotch Presbyterian missionary at Mukden, had found it possible to work with Koreans at the annual border market, where Manchuria and Korea exchanged their products. He learned the language, translated the New Testament and engaged Koreans as colporteurs to carry copies in. In this way some converts were made, considerable numbers became Bible readers and were waiting for some one to teach them more fully. Japan had made a trade treaty in 1876. In 1878 Japanese Christians planned to open a mission to Korea, but found it impracticable. In 1882, first the United States and then other nations, secured treaties opening relations with Korea. In 1884 the Northern Presbyterian Board sent Dr. H. N. Allen from China to be the first Protestant missionary. By his medical skill, for which there was shortly need by a kinsman of the Queen, he won a way for missionary work. Others quickly followed, but only different Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Young Men's Christian Association. The success was gradual until 1895, when the work began to grow rapidly, and Korea became "the modern marvel of missions." Dr. H. G. Underwood, one of the first and most notable missionaries and interpreters of Korea, said: "Very early in the history of the work . . . God, in His providence, led us to adopt methods that have been said by some to have been unique, but in reality are simply those that have been adopted by numbers of missionaries in different parts of the world. The only unique feature has been the almost unanimity with which these have been followed by the whole missionary body in this land" (*The Call of Korea*, p. 5, quoted from Glover, p. 106). Dr. Nevius, of China, visited Korea in 1890, and the missionaries were led to adopt what they called "the Nevius method." The aim from the start was to make Korean Christianity as nearly as possible self-supporting, vitally evangelistic and thoroughly ethical.

To this end, each believer was to be a witness and a worker. The churches were to be responsible for their own buildings and the salaries of their evangelists and pastors. Each church was expected to maintain a primary school. The missions would take the initiative and bear the burden of schools of higher grade and for theological instruction. Great emphasis was put upon Bible study, prayer and training for personal evangelism; on sacrificial support of the work and the devotion of time to the Gospel. Effort was made to keep the institutional side, with the equipment, within limits which would enable the Korean Christians to support and direct it.

Among the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies comity and co-operation have been practiced to an extent little short of the ideals so often advocated but rarely realized. The work has been characterized by steady, rapid growth, with no periods of marked reaction such as are usually met, and also some remarkable manifestations of revival and spiritual power. The most notable such revival was in 1907.

When Japan took charge of Korea, this vigorous Christianity was in its

most flourishing stage. In 1907 there were more than one thousand self-supporting churches, with thirty thousand communicants, one hundred and twenty thousand adherents.

Japan was inexperienced in governing a subordinated people, and her methods in Korea were oppressive and irritating. The administration were suspicious of missionaries and Christians, and imposed upon them much injustice. The material benefits of Japanese administration have greatly advanced the economic welfare. In the long run, it will be advantageous for Koreans. But a proud people with an honourable history have been harshly browbeaten, and there have been many examples of personal wrong. In 1919 a Passive Resistance Revolution was inaugurated with a "Declaration of Independence" and an extensive propaganda abroad. For a time a mimic Korean Republic was conducted, with its officers and Congress, living in Shanghai, where they were taking themselves quite seriously. In Korea, the "Rebellion" was put down ruthlessly and with needless oppression. Missionaries suffered many indignities, some going to prison, and their work no little interference. Finally the Japanese Government saw its error. Since the coming of Count Saito to be Governor-General, in 1919, a new method has been adopted, and Japan has learned to rule well.

Through all this, Korean Christians have emphasized the spiritual values, and the helpless people have increasingly sought the consolations of the eternal Gospel. Catholics, too, have grown rapidly and steadily. The latest available reports show continued healthy growth, with more than three thousand churches, above one hundred and ten thousand Protestant communicants, total adherents of more than two hundred and fifty thousand. In the last few years the growth in numbers has been arrested.

V. PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT AND SETTLED PROGRESS, 1915-

From the partial and discouraging reaction there was gradual recovery and renewed hope. While no one striking event marked the turn in the tide, from about 1915 it became evident that Christianity in Japan had become a recognized fact and a determinative factor in the life of the people and in the course of the nation. Since then there have been no violent or widely extended manifestations of opposition nor any sensational features of advance. Rather, Christianity has settled down to a steady acceptance of its place and task.

The period of proud superiority to all religion and of enthusiastic sufficiency for the work of building a great secular empire did not last long. It soon became evident that the national structure must be held together by moral conviction and consecration, and that for this a religious foundation was necessary. Devotion to universal education dominated by patriotic passion continues, but by 1912 it was clear that education and patriotism require to be grounded in religion. The Department of Education called a conference of representatives of Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity, in 1913, to counsel on meeting this need. So valuable was this conference that it was made a regular method of the department. This recognition of Christianity as one of the religions of Japan is significant. Faith in the mission and method of Christianity in Japan returned. Evan-

gelistic campaigns were renewed, and with marked success, in universities and in the cities in what was called "concentrative evangelism." Early in the century Japanese evangelists began to appear, comparable with Moody, Torrey and others in America. These have continued to appear as the work advances.

The holding of the World's Sunday School Convention in Tokyo, in 1920, attracted a great deal of attention, and was made the occasion for erecting a national Sunday School building in Tokyo. For this, large sums were given by Japanese who were not Christians, and the Convention was patronized by men of the highest political and commercial standing. That this was done in a way somewhat to compromise the uniqueness of the Christian religion and its message is to be deplored.

We have seen how the organized churches in Japan tended to be independent and indigenous from the very first. By the time we are now considering this feature was generally recognized by the missionary forces. By 1923, when the jubilee of Christian freedom was celebrated in a mild and dignified way, there was a disposition to go quite too far in the application of this principle. Many missionaries and some of the boards began strongly to urge that no more missionaries were needed in Japan, and that many of those already there should return home. Some Japanese leaders entertained this view. It was unfortunate that some of the Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, who did not know the language and had little practical experience, were particularly noisy in this agitation. It served, however, to bring out the fact that Japan's eighty per cent of rural village population had been almost wholly neglected by the organized missionary work. Also it brought forward earnest pleas of Japanese leaders that American Christians would not desert the Japanese churches in their enormous task—a task which they visualized afresh in this semi-centennial year and under the discussion of the question whether the work of missions was not done. One recalls the intense earnestness with which President Ebena answered the inquiry put to him in an interview in Kariyazawa, in 1923, whether if for ten years the force of missionaries should be maintained by supplying vacancies caused by death and retirement, we might then gradually withdraw by leaving vacancies unfilled. His words were: "Oh, by no means! by no means! Don't let the American brethren think of leaving us alone. Send us more missionaries; better missionaries, but more missionaries. We Japanese Christians are very, very weak. We are weak numerically; we are weak financially; we are weak spiritually. Tell the American Christians not to leave us to ourselves."

By this time attention was more and more drawn to the social task in Japan and to the dependence upon Christianity for meeting that task. The Japanese had waited for Christianity to take the lead and set the example in relieving social distress, correcting social evils and reconstructing the social organism on the principles of justice and brotherhood. While there was response to this challenge, both by Buddhism and by secular movements, it still was true that about half of all organizations for this purpose were openly Christian.

Griffis' testimony was unquestioned, as it was unquestionable, when, in

1907, he said: "I could never imagine Bushido of itself alone, or Japanese Buddhism, or Shinto, or the Government originating a Red Cross, a Peace Conference, a system of hospitals, a Woman's University, the emancipation and elevation to citizenship of pariahs and outcasts (*eta* and *hinin*), freedom of the press, the granting of full toleration of religion, or securing of real representative political institutions. . . . These have been propagated, not developed, from within. No, it is to the Spirit of Jesus that we are to accredit most of what is morally superb in the New Japan. . . . Behind almost every one of the radical reforms that have made a New Japan stands a man—too often a martyr—who was directly moved by the Spirit of Jesus, or who is or was a pupil of the missionaries" (*Christ the Creator of the New Japan*. The last sentence quoted was printed in capital letters).

In 1907 *The Japan Year Book*, written by Japanese, said: "It is significant that by far the greater part of private charity work of any large scope is conducted by Christians, both native and aliens, and that the part played by Buddhists in this direction is shamefully out of proportion. As to Shintoists, they are privileged in popular estimate to keep aloof from matters of the kind."

The recognition that so much remains of this social task has caused Japanese Christians to desire continued aid, so long as it comes in the right spirit. The rise of Kagawa, who combines essential Christianity and social service in such remarkable balance and effectiveness, has given great impetus to a practical Christian evangelism, and his steadfast refusal of all official position, for which the Government has eagerly sought his services, while at the same time he freely counsels with the Government on problems of labour, housing, farmer relief and other matters, has given him a moral leadership unequalled. His rich religious experience and simple-hearted testimony to Jesus Christ gives powerful witness to the worth of Christianity. The five-year-campaign of evangelism and reform, begun in 1930 under his leadership at the solicitation of the National Council, and named "The Kingdom of God Movement," represents a revival of significant proportions and is influencing Christianity in other countries. The objective is a million Japanese converts in five years, which calls for great spiritual growth and stability in the two hundred thousand members of the evangelical churches.

The transition from the Committee of Co-operating Missions to the National Christian Council, in 1923, marks the majority of Japanese Christianity and relieves the tension between "the Mission" and "the Native Church." The acceptance of its legitimate leadership by Japanese Christianity is the surest hope of counteracting the communistic tendencies evident in Japan, as elsewhere, since the World War. In 1923 the evangelical churches numbered one thousand six hundred and fifteen, with one hundred and ninety-one thousand three hundred and forty-one communicant members. One thousand five hundred and ninety-four missionaries, from sixty societies, laboured with four thousand six hundred and sixty-seven Japanese workers. The careful, scholarly review of the half century served to put solid foundation of historic achievement underneath the Christian hope and effort.

In a country where literacy is almost universal and where reading is

more nearly universal than in any other country, literature plays a great part in missionary work. Publication houses have produced an enormous output of great variety and value. "Newspaper evangelism" has been used extensively, and has been developed as a special method as in no other country.

The status of Japanese Christianity at this time is suggested by the following facts from the 1929 volume of *The Christian Movement*, including only Japan and Formosa: Mission staff, one thousand one hundred and seventy, of whom only two hundred and twenty-nine were ordained; total native staff, four thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, of whom one thousand four hundred and nine were ordained; one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven churches, six hundred and ninety-three being self-supporting; one hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and twenty-seven communicants, of whom one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven were added the preceding year; contributions to Christian work, two billion one hundred and thirteen million three hundred and sixty-one thousand and seventy-nine yen; twenty-one theological schools, with seven hundred and eight students, and fifteen training schools for women, with four hundred and three in attendance.

XV

THE NEAR EAST

UNDER the vague heading of this chapter we shall include a brief survey of Africa north of the Sahara, Egypt and Abyssinia, western Asia from the Mediterranean to Turkistan, Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Turkey in Europe. The bond of unity for this territory is very slight, being chiefly in the two facts, that this in a general way represents the Turkish Empire at the height of its glory; and that, in the main, the dominant religion is Mohammedanism. From the standpoint of missions, it is here that Christianity must solve its problem of coping with its most aggressive religious rival, and the one which offers the most stubborn, intolerant and violent resistance to Christian propaganda. There are, furthermore, certain common features in the history of the missionary effort in these lands. It will be recognized, also, that this territory is practically identical with what is known as the lands of the Bible.

There is no inner unity and little coherence among the numerous races, languages, religions and national aspirations which are found in this area, inextricably interspersed. For slightly more than one hundred years the Turkish Empire has undergone a process of dissolution. In 1914 the only thing that seemed practically certain to be the outcome of the War was that the dissolution of Turkey would be completed, and that as a political entity it would cease to exist. Even at the close of the War, this still seemed to be one of the things on which the negotiating nations might agree at the Peace Conference. It developed that the ambitions and plans of the French for their own future had caused them already to enter into a secret understanding whereby they became the protagonists of a restored Turkey with a guaranteed future. In this connection Mustafa Kemal came forward with extraordinary diplomatic and administrative ability, and surrounded himself with a body of able advisers and assistants. These put nationalism and material rehabilitation above religion, and launched their reduced Turkey, now nominally in the form of a republic, upon an era of progress which has hardly been surpassed in any other part of the world since 1920. It is clear that opportunity has been afforded for all the territory in the former Turkish Empire to enter upon a new stage of history with radical changes in politics, culture, economic life and religious outlook. It is hardly yet possible to define conditions clearly in any section, or to predict the outcome with any security. Revolutionary and rapidly working evolutionary forces brought about a condition of extensive confusion which can only slowly be brought to equilibrium. When the Sultan was deposed and exiled from Constantinople, in 1922, the strongest bond of unity in the Mohammedan world was destroyed. The weakness of that bond had already been manifested by the utter failure to unite the Moham-

medan peoples in a "Holy War" against the Allies and in behalf of the Central Powers. It has become necessary to seek for unity afresh in the Koran and in emotional devotion to Mecca as the sacred seat of Islam. It is already safe to say that there are too many modern ideals and ambitions operating in opposition to these unifying factors for there ever again to be any such Mohammedan unity as prevailed from the days of the Prophet to the beginning of the twentieth century.

For almost thirteen centuries political power had been identified with religious control. All other religions had been either exterminated or merely tolerated. As a rule, the repression was so great that aggressive life found expression almost impossible. Wherever Mohammedan political power prevailed, all efforts at propaganda and the winning of converts was strictly proscribed and effectively prohibited, while the adherents of the dominant religion were held by a rigid prohibition of their perverting to any other faith under penalty of losing entirely their personal identity. From the sixteenth century every tolerated religion was represented in Constantinople by its official head, through whom a considerable measure of political responsibility, as well as religious authority, was administered over all the members of his religious organization. No one was allowed to change from any one religion to another, and one's political existence and all the rights he might claim were conditioned on his being enrolled as a member of his particular faith.

At the opening of the modern missionary era, the dominant Mohammedanism claimed three-fourths of the population of the empire. Jews were numerous and, on the whole, were increasing by immigration, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The Greek Orthodox Church was dominant in Greece and generally in southeastern Europe, with large numbers in Asia Minor and Syria. With their rehabilitation, Greece, Roumania and Bulgaria all developed national Orthodox churches chiefly independent, but all recognizing the Patriarch of Constantinople. Roman Catholics busied themselves during the nineteenth century in efforts to incorporate in their body as many of the Christian groups as they could find access to. They were able to make some headway with Armenians and Nestorians, to establish at Aleppo a Patriarch of the Jacobites, and to win a considerable number of them. As early as 1182 they had incorporated the Maronites, but had conceded to them the use of the Syriac language, a considerable measure of independence, and permission for their inferior clergy to marry. From 1584 onward there has been a college in Rome for training their clergy. Armenians and Nestorians maintained their faith and organization with a persistence which is remarkable under all the circumstances, in the face of repeated and violent persecution. The Armenians particularly have suffered through the centuries very terrible oppressions. In 1894-5 systematic massacres occurred throughout their territory in Asia Minor, Syria and Persia. It will be remembered that these massacres recurred in appalling fashion during the World War, constituting one of the most horrifying outrages in history.

Besides these various types of Christians, there are also a number of minor sects, usually with faiths mixed of Mohammedan, Christian and

pagan elements. Among these the most prominent are the Druses in the Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon and Hauran regions, whose faith is made up of elements from Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Gnosticism and Christianity; the Nusairiyeh, closely allied to the Druses, but with Jewish elements, living in the Lebanon Mountains; the Behaists, a Mohammedan sect with Hindu theology and Christian ethics; Samaritans, a mere remnant still occupying the ancient seat of this people.

All these various religions are not only exclusive, but as a rule are antagonistic and frequently in violent conflict. "The young Turk Revolution" of 1908 greatly modified the previous order; proclaimed religious freedom, and was widely hailed as the inauguration of a new era of freedom and progress. There was great rejoicing and much fraternizing among the followers of the various religions for a brief period. It very soon became evident, however, that there was to be no freedom for any except Mohammedans, and that the aggressiveness which is so essential to a vital Christianity was not to be realized.

Since 1890 Egypt had been under the actual control of Great Britain. Although it has been declared independent and has its own formal government and administration, Great Britain will continue to give determinative "advice." It is necessary to recognize the political demand for less of freedom in religion than would be ideal, in a country overwhelmingly Mohammedan in its population, and considering the characteristic attitude of that religion toward others and toward government. Yet there is a gratifying measure of freedom for the rapidly growing Christian effort in Egypt, and very recently this has been manifestly enlarging. Abyssinia is largely under the influence of Italy. Hence the Roman Catholics are encouraged in their antagonism to Protestant efforts in that country. Nor is the old Coptic Church very friendly toward such efforts.

The rest of northern Africa, under the influence of the Mohammedan Berbers, complicated by the political relations and schemes of the European powers, permits only very restricted Christian propaganda.

British mandate control and influence in Palestine, Irak, Transjordan and the Hejaz, bring all these peoples consciously very much nearer to Christendom and emphasize the Christian responsibility for them, as also it increases the Christian opportunity among them. Christian progress must, however, continue to be slow.

The French mandate for Syria has proven a rather thinly veiled annexation, and has thus far been administered with little concern for human needs or for Christian principles. Christian missions have been limited. Armenia has a sentimental independence, but it is too much a part of Turkey, too closely related to Soviet Russia and too intimately involved in the politics of the nations to have much of actual independence or of security.

Persia is making progress and is inclined to give more freedom for Christian approach to Mohammedans and Jews, as well as to the Nestorians among whom Christian missions have largely been restricted heretofore.

Beyond Persia the countries are as yet barely accessible to the bearers of the Christian message. The visit of the King of Afghanistan to Europe,

in 1927, marked the beginning of a new era of enlightenment which must still make very slow progress.

Turkey, retaining Constantinople as the centre of a reduced European area, consists chiefly of Asia Minor, with the new capital at Angora. Kemal, one of the most astute rulers and leaders in any land, is bringing about reforms in government, economic life, education and culture, social customs and religion, with almost bewildering rapidity, and gives promise of producing a modern nation. While he is a "liberal" within Mohammedanism, he is, either from disposition or necessity, continuing rather rigidly to restrict the operations of all Christian bodies and movements.

COMPLICATED PROBLEMS FOR MISSIONS

It is extremely difficult to handle intelligently within the limits of this work the missionary undertakings in the Near East. The geographic and political divisions are so numerous and have undergone such extensive changes within the modern period as to make this an unsatisfactory line of approach. The racial and religious differences make it equally difficult to use that as a basis, since they intermingle and overlap in confusing degree in almost all of the territorial areas. It would be equally confusing should we undertake to single out the various organizations which are conducting missionary work in the Near East, because the various organizations have at different times undertaken and surrendered work in different places; some stations have been transferred from one to another organization in the course of their development; there have been differences and modifications in the attitudes of the organizations toward previously existing Christian churches; and there have been numerous minor organizations undertaking various types of work in different areas, of proportions too limited to find place in this record. Whatever principle might be adopted, it would be impossible to go very much into detail in so brief an outline and maintain any semblance of unity and progress in our discussion.

It will be best first to take account of certain general features of the missionary work in the Near East. First of all, while as a rule the various organizations have undertaken to define their work territorially, it has been necessary practically to work out the undertakings along lines that were chiefly defined by race and religion.

Evangelism, in the ordinary missionary understanding of that term, has, with rare exceptions, not been the major method here. Nearly everywhere through almost the whole period it has been legally practically impossible to win converts from Mohammedanism. Mohammedan political authorities have consistently opposed popular and public evangelism, with rare and brief exceptions, because this would tend to excite popular prejudice, with danger of uprisings, and because it would run directly counter to the official policy prohibiting all transfer of religious affiliations. For the most part the missionary policies have sought to avoid seeming to discount the Christian character of any of the historical Christian churches already present in these lands. The missionaries prefer to proceed on the

policy of recognizing the Christian character of these churches and assuming that they needed only the correction of certain abuses in doctrinal practice and support. It was a part of the theory that these churches themselves would thus prove to be the natural and successful agencies for the evangelism of the non-Christian populations, once their spirit had been quickened and they had been brought to assume responsibility for the opportunities which surrounded them. That the fine sentiments underlying this policy proved impracticable, and that the policy itself had, in considerable measure, to be either abandoned or modified in the course of development, has nevertheless not caused the missionary organizations generally to emphasize the building up of Protestant churches in these territories.

EDUCATION THE CHIEF METHOD

Both this policy and the necessities of the case have led to emphasis on other lines of missionary activity. Educational missions have constituted the most effective means of service and instrument of progress. The greater organizations have all laid the stress here. Beginning with more elementary education, it soon became the policy to build up great educational institutions in important centres. From these centres radiated systems including all classes of schools from kindergarten up. There are industrial, training, academic, medical and technical schools, for both boys and girls. The education of women was an especially open and useful field for influencing the life of all the peoples in these countries. The educational policies of Protestant missions have stimulated both the Mohammedan and the Christian sects to develop education both for self-defence and because the Protestant examples showed to open and progressive minds the real place of education.

Four great institutions have been developed as centres of the great Christian educational influence in major areas of the Near East. Upon entering Constantinople, the American Board opened a grammar school in 1834. Under the leadership of Cyrus Hamlin, this was developed into a seminary primarily for the training of Armenian young men in thoroughgoing Western education, by 1848. In the light of his experience in the school and in the double crisis of the American Civil War and the Crimean War, Hamlin was led to the conviction that a thoroughgoing educational institution on the American pattern was the supreme need and opportunity in Turkey. His board finding it impossible to support his plans, Hamlin undertook to develop this independently. Winning the support of Christopher Robert, a business man in New York, who contributed altogether four hundred thousand dollars, Hamlin succeeded in making of Robert College a most influential factor in modernizing the Turkish Empire. The institution was affiliated with the New York University.

In 1871 a boarding school for girls was founded in Scutari, which developed into the American College for Girls, a completely revolutionary undertaking and a characteristic symbol of the difference between the Protestant concept of womanhood and that of any other religion.

The Syrian Protestant College was founded at Beirut, in 1866, by Daniel

Bliss, and became a major factor of Protestant influence and blessing throughout Syria and far beyond. In 1921, under the Presidency of Howard Bliss, son of Daniel, the name was changed to the American University of Beirut, the scope of its operations having already justified the name. The Emir Feisal, later King of Irak, justly said: "Dr. Daniel Bliss . . . was the grandfather of Syria; his son, Dr. Howard Bliss . . . is the father of Syria, and without the education this college has given, the struggle for freedom would never have been won. The Arabs owe everything to these men."

In the same year, 1921, there was opened at Cairo the American University, a union institution, but in its development a product of the educational work in Egypt of the United Presbyterians, who had already one hundred and eighty schools with sixteen thousand pupils. This institution is intended to be the centre for the most comprehensive effort ever undertaken to minister the Gospel to the entire Mohammedan world. It is fittingly located in the same city with Al Azar, for a thousand years the training centre for Mohammedan propaganda. Here have been trained for centuries vast numbers of heralds and advocates of Islam, the number of students at one time reaching more than thirteen thousand, and for many years averaging ten thousand. There can be no question that the presence of a Christian University is largely responsible for the realization on the part of the Egyptian Government that they must encourage changes which are beginning to break up the traditional conservatism of Al Azar. The Koran is no longer the sole basis of the curriculum. Certain modern studies have been introduced, in spite of strong opposition; and in 1930, for the first time, students were found in the classes wearing clothes other than the characteristic white robe which had always been required within these sacred precincts.

LITERARY WORK

Literary missions go hand in hand with educational missions. They have been in some ways more far-reaching than the schools. The printing press was a missionary instrument much relied upon from the very beginning. First place has always been given to the translation and circulation of the Christian Scriptures. Nowhere else in all the modern missionary movement has there been such a record of devotion and achievement in putting the Bible into all the languages of all the varied peoples, and the painstaking and scholarly labour to see that these translations were made as nearly perfect as possible in each of the numerous languages. Imperfect translations have been revised or abandoned. In the case of Bulgaria, after efforts at meeting the demand in the different dialects, Elias Riggs, with the help of Long, actually produced a "modern Bulgarian language which proved intelligible to and popular with the whole nation." In order that he might give the Word of God to the entire people, Riggs continued to perfect this translation through a period of forty years, until his death in 1901. So excellent was it that it supplanted all others. In other sections translations were made into the various languages of the Mohammedan peoples, Turkish, Arabic and Persian;

and these were issued in the characters employed by the various subdivisions of the races. Similarly for the various Oriental churches there is a remarkable story of translations into different forms of the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Syriac, Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Ferrara for the Spanish Jews in and about Constantinople, and the Abyssinian tongues. It is a remarkable record and makes a great story involving names of men of great ability, American, German, British, and scholars of other nationalities.

The circulation of these Scriptures provides another romantic story, in which the great Bible societies played a major part, under which special organizations were formed for carrying forward this work. It has been possible for colporteurs to pioneer for the missionaries and often to distribute the Word of God in regions where no missionary might labour. The Turkish Government continuously exercised a censorship over all this work, with much annoyance and many amusing incidents growing out of their jealousy and ignorant fear. Yet the reverence for learning and literature provided a measure of freedom for this form of missionary labour greater than that accorded to any other method.

Besides their own Bible, the missions have extensively published and circulated the Koran, a rather disconcerting method of manifesting their consciousness of the superiority of the New Testament.

Other religious literature of various kinds has, of course, been extensively produced; and in many cases more general literature, especially books and other materials required by the growing educational systems of more recent years. Missionary literature has afforded challenge and inspiration for the literary renaissance, especially in Turkish and Arabic.

MEDICAL AND SOCIAL SERVICE

The Christian doctor, hospital and dispensary could locate and minister where neither the evangelistic missionary, nor as yet the Protestant school would be tolerated. They were not only forerunners of the more advanced Christian institutions and an agency through which personal and private evangelism could be conducted, but they introduced revolutionary ideas of medicine, sanitation and hygiene, proving thereby a great instrument of social welfare. Even in the present conditions, medical missionaries are often able to do more effective work than any others. Dr. Paul Harrison, in Transjordan and lower Arabia, is an example.

Protestant orphanages and their ministrations of social relief have been a favourable factor in breaking down prejudices, and in advertising the humane influence of the Protestant faith. This has been especially manifest in connection with the horrible massacres, the heartless transportations, the severe floods, famines and fires, which have from time to time produced unspeakable conditions, whose relief was almost exclusively dependent on the activities of the missionaries and the popular and official interest in the countries which the missionaries represented.

MISSIONS TO SEPARATE RELIGIOUS-RACIAL GROUPS

It has already been made obvious that conditions have made it very

largely necessary that there should be much specialization in the approach to the different classes. Mohammedans have been largely inaccessible on account of both religion and politics. It has not usually been possible for the same men and methods to be engaged in the efforts to reach them, and at the same time to reach followers of other faiths. Splendid efforts, with some results, are found in different sections, as also with frequent persecutions and some serious disappointments. There have been a few converts in Constantinople, in Syria and in Persia.

It is chiefly in Arabia, and more recently in Egypt, that efforts among Mohammedans have been most extensively and consistently made. Ion Keith-Falconer, already a distinguished Arabic scholar at Cambridge, in 1885 became greatly interested in Arabia. After a preliminary visit he and his aristocratic wife, and Dr. Cowan, settled in Sheikh-Othman to inaugurate an independent Church of England mission. His death, only four months later, was followed by a challenge from his mother, who proposed to provide financial support for any one who would take up the work. The response came from the United Free Church of Scotland, which has carried on medical and educational work among Arabs and Somalis.

The chief work in Arabia was originated in 1889 by J. G. Lansing, son of a veteran missionary in Egypt. He was Professor of Arabic in the Dutch Reformed Theological School in New Jersey. He and three of his students agreed to start a mission in Arabia. Failing to get the support of their church, two of the number went out under the provision of a special legacy, and opened stations in Basra, Bahrein and Muskat. Their mission was taken over by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1894. It has continued to the present day, and has gradually grown in importance and in its influence over other organizations, chiefly through the untiring and able advocacy of Dr. S. M. Zwemer, who retired from the work only in 1930 to take the Professorship of the History of Religion and Missions in the Princeton Theological Seminary. By extensive travel, continuous appeal through lectures and sermons, and a prodigious amount of literary work, he has forced upon the attention of Christendom their age-long ineffectiveness in the case of the Mohammedan world. His books have made him a first-class authority in all things pertaining to Mohammedanism.

The Church Missionary Society has contributed ably in the promotion of Mohammedan work in Egypt, where the lamented Gairdner laboured with extraordinary tact, scholarship, sympathy and patience, and gained an influence which contributes largely to the hope of a new era of successful presentation of the Gospel to the Mohammedan world.

It has usually been found impossible to minister to the Jews merely as one element in the general population. They do not mingle with other people, especially in religious relationships. In only a few places are they found in sufficient numbers to justify any large undertakings in their behalf. The Church of England, the undenominational London Mission to the Jews, and the American Presbyterians have interested themselves in them more extensively than any others. There have been an extraor-

dinary number of small independent and irresponsible undertakings, especially in Palestine. These were based largely on sentimental grounds and on special elementary theories, and have been as ineffective as might be expected. Moreover, almost all missions to the Jews have had some discouraging experiences with converts who proved unreliable. From various sections in recent years come reports of increasing numbers of Jews who are perfectly accessible and are profoundly interested. In most such cases there is little thought of open confession of Christianity and of acceptance to membership in a Christian church at the expense of the inevitable breach with the synagogue. Especially in certain of the north African cities and in Egypt there are reported numbers of secret converts, and occasionally there is a rabbi who freely fraternizes with Christian ministers and missionaries, and in limited and cautious manner uses the New Testament, even in the synagogues. It is impossible to estimate the value of this form of approach to the Christian Gospel.

In most cases it was the definite purpose of Protestant missions not to undertake to set up in the Near East Protestant churches in rivalry and competition with Oriental churches. It was rather the hope that these churches might be vitalized and reformed so as to make them morally and ethically impressive and spiritually effective in the modern world. In experience and practice this nobly impartial attitude was found not possible to carry out. The masses of these Christians are ignorant, conservative and bound by tradition. The official organizations soon set themselves against the importation of Protestant evangelism and progress. Small groups of those who accepted the evangelical view-point within the Armenian and Nestorian churches were, after a little while, excommunicated.

There were some notable examples, both in Constantinople and in Persia, of priests, and even of two or three patriarchs, who responded with genuine enthusiasm to the spirituality and doctrinal simplicity of Protestantism. Yet, on the whole, these ancient churches refused the evangelical Gospel. In 1846 it was found necessary for the Protestant converts to organize independently, and in 1855 the same step had to be taken by Protestant excommunicates from the Nestorian Church. So soon as these Protestant churches were formed it was necessary to take steps for political recognition as an independent religious movement. Otherwise their members would have no sort of political or economic standing. Those in the Coptic Church in Abyssinia who responded to the evangelical spirit experienced the same repression and persecution. In 1847, through the instrumentality of the American Consulate, a form of recognition was given to the Armenian Protestant Church in Constantinople, and from 1850 following, Protestantism was given distinct recognition as one more religion within the empire. Even so, the chief Protestant organizations have continued to try to bring about revival and reform rather than to win proselytes from these historic churches. The post-war conditions offer more encouragement in this direction. There is a new spirit of life and progress with a new national outlook of the now relatively independent nations. And, gratitude toward America and the Americans for their very great help to the Christians in the empire during their days

of tragedy and of reconstruction, make for a more sympathetic hearing in the countries with their friendly approach. The new conditions called loudly for a more progressive and spiritual religion than these Oriental churches have been able to manifest during the last thousand years. The Protestant missions are, however, being promoted with renewed vigour and success, and for a time at least the Protestant churches are likely to grow more rapidly than at any time heretofore.

FORCES WORKING IN THE NEAR EAST

The missionary work in the Near East has been carried on most extensively by American organizations. The Protestant nations of Europe were all so involved in the complicated and antagonistic politics which have been so intense in Constantinople and throughout Turkey that it was not easy for European missions to operate freely. The American Board early became interested in Turkey, and in 1819 appointed Pliny Fiske and Levi Parsons with the original intention that their work should be amongst Jews and Mohammedans, with Jerusalem as their centre. It very soon developed that the task was both greater and more difficult than had been anticipated, and that there was little hope along the lines they had planned. Within six years, both these men had died in the work. But others were forthcoming. Until 1870 this board included among its missionaries Presbyterians as well as Congregationalists, and developed extensive missions in Turkey and Europe, Asia Minor and Syria. When the Presbyterians took over the control of their own missionaries the territory was divided along the line with the east coast of the Mediterranean. The work up to that time had been developed in Syria chiefly by Presbyterians, who had extended operations under their own board into Persia. Both these organizations have been unusually efficient in the character of their missionaries. They have had many men of the highest type of culture, training and practical efficiency, and many whose terms of service have extended over forty or fifty years and more.

The United Presbyterians have made Egypt and Northern Africa their particular field. They had begun as early as 1845, along with Irish Presbyterians, in Damascus, but sought wider territories, and began in Cairo in 1854, from which base they have expanded their work and conducted it with vigour and wisdom until the present.

The American Methodists undertook some work in European Turkey and in Bulgaria.

Throughout the missionary history there has been a very large measure of comity among the various American bodies conducting work in the Near East. Beirut has remained the centre of the Syrian missions of the Presbyterian Church. Urumia has been their principal centre in Persia, with Tabriz and Teheran growing in importance. At the present time Teheran takes first place, and it is increasingly possible to work amongst Mohammedans and Jews, as well as with the Nestorians, which constituted the main field up to the present era.

Other American organizations have had work which was limited in extent, spirit and in results.

The Church of England has naturally taken considerable interest, following up the advance of British commercial and political progress. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was particularly active in the Transcaucasian regions, and generally among the Mountain Nestorians. For a time there developed an extensive Protestant movement here. It was encouraged by the Russian Orthodox Church and promoted by an Orthodox Mission Society, with headquarters in Moscow, and the Russian Bible Society, both of which were in close co-operation with the missionaries of the Church of England. However, when the three Transcaucasian countries were ruthlessly overrun and appropriated by Russia, the Protestant work was suppressed. Now that three Soviet Republics in this region are incorporated in the Soviet Union, there is no opportunity. The Church Missionary Society has taken extensive interest in Persia and in Palestine, as also with definite interest in Bagdad. There has been an Anglican Bishop of Persia since 1912, where the work was inaugurated by Dr. Bruce, on a visit from India, in 1869. From 1875 the society has conducted and extended its work.

It is as yet too early to determine just what possibilities the new era in the Near East will afford for detailed operations. It is certain that there will be vastly more of freedom than at any time in the past. Millions of people are dissatisfied with their Mohammedanism. There are found in this religion the same three movements which mark most of the religions of the world today: an extreme liberal party more concerned with secular and social progress than with the divine aspects of religion; the conservative party who see hope only in a return to the fundamental teachings of their religion and vigorous pushing of the traditional doctrines and forms; a third party, who seek to adjust the organization and the forms of the religion to the modern needs of the progressive work. There is, on the other hand, a greater interest in Christendom in this part of the world, and particularly in the challenge of Mohammedanism, which from the Christian view-point has in it no adequate resources for meeting the spiritual, cultural and social demands of people beyond a certain stage which was long ago reached in all lands where Mohammedanism was dominant.

At this time the spiritual resources of Christendom seem insufficient to strike out upon fresh adventures in this large area, so unsettled and so uncertain as to its future; insufficient also to cope adequately with the political and secular ambitions and conflicts which arouse fear and resentment, especially against European nations. The American and Presbyterian Boards are devoting serious interest to the problems in this area, so pregnant of great possibilities. An unfolding opportunity in the Near East is awaiting a spiritual revival within Christendom,

XVI

MALAYSIA

OUR studies have covered the continent of Asia, except its southeastern section. It is best to include here not only the Peninsula and its adjacent Islands, of which Singapore, Penang and Pankor are chief in importance; but Siam, both the native and the French sections; and those large Islands usually designated as the Dutch East Indies, Java, Sumatra and Borneo; and also French Indo-China. The population is chiefly Malay, with a very large element which is known under the general name of the Tai peoples, who occupy especially the northern regions; and the Dyaks and their primitive peoples on the Islands. The religions are different forms of Animism; a large element of Buddhists, especially in Assam, Annam and generally on the Continent; Mohammedans, who are very numerous, especially in Java and Sumatra. In addition, there are immigrants from China and South India, who have poured into these regions in great numbers for more than a century. European peoples are found in the commercial and political centres in all these regions, particularly in what are known as the Straits Settlements. They exercise a controlling influence over the destinies of this part of the world; and are themselves dominated by secularistic and worldly interests. All of this makes a challenging but extremely difficult field for missionary operations. Altogether these countries include a population of between fifty and sixty millions.

In the chapter on China we have seen how the Straits Settlements were selected as a base for approaching China during the days before even Macao was accessible for the residence of Protestant missionaries. From 1813, when Milne went to Malacca, Protestants have conducted missionary work in these regions. Presbyterians and Baptists were among the first after the Congregationalists, who on their part, left this field for others. Nor did the Baptists greatly extend their work.

From 1840 the American Presbyterians carried on work with Bangkok as the centre. They relied chiefly on education and medicine as means, inasmuch as the haughty and exclusive Buddhism, with its official patronage and support, had not given opportunity for much evangelism. From 1867 they turned their attention more extensively to the Laos, where their first central station was Chiang Mai. After a period of slow progress and of persecution, there ensued great prosperity, with almost mass turnings from animism to the larger satisfactions of Christianity.

American Methodists have been extensively active in Singapore, where their chief educational work is located; in Eastern Sumatra, where they have amicably divided the territory with the Rhenish Society; in Java, with

Batavia as the centre of the successful work; and in both British and Dutch Borneo.

English Presbyterians have been particularly active in work amongst the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, with whom they have had marked success in building up vigorous congregations and in leading the Chinese Christians into active missionary labours.

The Anglicans entered actively from 1857, operating at first in the Diocese of Calcutta. In 1909 they established the Diocese of Singapore.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has operated in Malacca, Penang and in various provinces on the mainland. Their work includes chiefly the Europeans and the Chinese and Tamil immigrants, but extends also to the Malays. This society has also had, since 1854, an extremely interesting work in British Borneo. Dr. McDougall had already begun evangelistic and medical work in 1848, beginning with European and Chinese, but extending his work from 1851 to the Dyaks at Batang.

The Roman Catholics, from the days of Portuguese occupation, have operated extensively in various parts of Southeastern Asia and on the Islands. They are quite strong in the various Straits Settlements, where they have about forty thousand members, with churches for the various race groups, carrying this policy of race recognition to an extent quite unusual with them. As early as 1662 they established a Vicarate of Siam. By 1899 they had extended their interest to the Laos and established a vicarate for them. The work is patronized especially by the Paris Society, which supervises a membership of approximately fifty thousand. In French Indo-China, the Catholics are encouraged by the Government and the Protestants hardly allowed to work at all. The Catholics have a small work in Sumatra. In Batavia the Jesuits have their centre, from which they operate extensively and supervise the membership of thirty-five thousand or more. In Borneo, after two failures, the Catholics began a continuous mission in 1881 and have succeeded in gathering a following of about four thousand.

From the extensive and superficially flourishing Dutch East India Missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there remained, in 1900, about one hundred thousand Christians, who were reorganized and made the state religion of the Dutch administration. Besides this work of the State Church, the Rhenish and a half dozen other missionary societies have operated extensively through most of the Dutch Islands. The Rhenish Missions have been the chief factor in working amongst the Mohammedans, from whom they have won between forty and fifty thousand converts. They have also made some progress with the Dyak head hunters. It is greatly interesting to connect this modern progress in these regions with the statement of Cosmas in his *Topographia* (535 A. D.), that in Sumatra there was "a Church of Christians where clergy and believers are found."

XVII

NEGRO AFRICA •

WE included Africa north of the Sahara and southward through the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Abyssinia in the Near East. The racial, historical and religious reasons for this will be obvious. While there is a large Negro element in the population of the British Sudan and Abyssinia, the dominant factors give to these regions a different alignment from that of Negro Africa. DuPlessis, the elaborate and able historian of Christian missions in Africa, distinguishes between "South Africa" and "Pagan Africa," the line of division being in general the Zambesi River and westward along the southern border of Angola. This distinction reveals a psychology based upon historical fact and an established attitude. The fact is the occupation of the southern section of Africa by European nations and their colonies. This occupation began with the Dutch Colony at the Cape in 1662, for we may practically ignore the earlier Portuguese contacts. The attitude is the assumption that all this southern section of Africa is now and henceforward "white man's country." The actual control and the entire administration proceeds upon the theory of the primacy of British interests and the permanence of white domination. On these grounds we might almost as well include all East Africa, where already European interests are determinative, the white occupation and domination rapidly extending, and where it can be only a few decades at most, until the same conditions will prevail which are now definitely accepted in South Africa.

The population of the central Pagan Africa is about seventy-five millions, practically half that of the entire continent. The inhabitants of Egypt and Abyssinia are largely of Semitic origin, and the north African states are occupied by mixed races with the same base. The Gallas, the Somalis, the Masais and the Wa-Himas are now classed as Hamitic and are distinguished from the Negroes who occupy the rest of Africa, including the central and western Sudan, and hence southward. From Sierra Leone southward through West Africa are the typical Negroes, with whom America is most extensively acquainted. Distributed over most of central and south Africa are the Bantu peoples, markedly the highest Negro type. Some of these are to be met with in America, and are readily to be recognized by those informed about their characteristics. Hottentots and Bushmen in southwestern Africa are an inferior group constantly being reduced in numbers.

While there are various Bantu languages, there is a similarity in vocabulary and grammar which establishes a definite racial unity. Among the other tribes there is "a very Babel of confused speech," with bewildering confusion of languages and dialects which are appalling for the missionary, and which have challenged the most devoted and persistent consecration

to the task of making available the Word of God for all these millions of primitive peoples. In literally scores of cases the very first conception of a written language was offered to the tribes by the missionaries, who reduced their speech to written form and have given them the beginnings of a cultural history. In this work the Bible societies, especially the British and Foreign, have performed heroic and faithful service.

A volume of thrilling stories could be prepared of missionaries and their methods in learning the speech of these primitive peoples, and in adapting their vocabularies to the carrying of the divine message of redemption and progress. The languages and dialects of Africa calling for separate treatment are between five hundred and six hundred. Glover, indeed, affirms "that five hundred and twenty-three distinct languages and three hundred and twenty dialects have been identified in . . . the Dark Continent."

The Mohammedans occupying North Africa and pressing down into the central regions number about fifty millions.

Whether Africa is to be Mohammedan or Christian is to be determined within this century, and largely within the next two or three decades. Here, as nowhere else in the world, are the two religions to be compared and contrasted in their capacity for redeeming and civilizing while they compete for the adherence of Africa's pagan millions. It ought to be recognized at once that the major question for Christians is not, which shall gain the larger following, but which can bring salvation from savagery, ignorance and sin, and progress in the attainment of human values, social realization and economic welfare. Both religions are hampered in missionary ministry by their connection with secular advances. Both religions are so manifestly superior to the crude and cruel animisms that their appeal is powerful; but both are associated with more highly organized civilizations whose people and nations are engaged in exploiting the Africans. How this hinders the acceptance of the higher faith is remarkably shown in the fact that in East Africa, where Arabs have been longer known, Christian missionaries are relatively more successful, while in western regions, where European contacts have existed longer and been more extensive, the more recently arrived Mohammedans gain more rapidly.

The fact that "Christian" countries are now pressing their contacts on Africa and their domination of its life, makes it imperative that these contacts and this rule shall be outstandingly Christian if they are not to prove a serious barrier to the way of Christ in the African heart.

Apart from the changes which have been brought about by Mohammedan and Christian missions, the religions of Africa include all forms and aspects of Animism. Here one meets with every type of nature religion, fetishism, witchcraft and demonolatry. Ignorance, superstition, idolatry and primitive immoralities are found in varying degrees in all sections. Thus Pagan Africa has presented to Christianity its greatest problem and corresponding opportunity for delivering fellow-men from the power of darkness into the liberty, light and freedom of the sons of God. This is a task which was long neglected.

In another connection we have given a brief story of the Roman

Catholic Missions which began at the end of the fifteenth century, but which accomplished nothing permanent for the bringing of Pagan Africa into the knowledge of Christ. Even in more modern times, when the Catholics have undertaken work in various sections, for the most part they either failed or achieved only moderate success. Amongst the purely Negro populations they have not manifested capacity for grappling with the problems. Even some of their own writers testify to their failure. Altogether, the Catholics, with approximately three thousand missionaries in Negro Africa, have, as yet, a very small number of native priests, but claim approximately a million and a half adherents. For some reason, Roman Catholics have never seemed profoundly interested in Negroes. Even in the United States, where one would have expected that they would find a great field, they have not until very recent times made any consistent and sustained efforts or won any extensive following. There are indications, however, of a new era of Catholic missionary operations amongst these peoples.

OPENING UP DARK AFRICA

Until about the middle of last century, Africa remained the "dark continent." Of course, north Africa has been continuously known to Europe and western Asia. The east coast was early explored by Arabs to a point opposite Madagascar. The west coast was touched at various points by the Portuguese from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but there was no extensive exploration. The climate of West Africa is deadly to white men, except under modern scientific handling; and the fact that all the rivers were inaccessible beyond a short distance from the coast, by reason of the rapid rise of the land to the interior tableland, hindered exploration.

South Africa proved more accessible and more inviting than any other section. Portuguese effected settlements along the Zambesi more than three hundred miles inland, from the middle of the sixteenth century. The Dutch occupied Capetown in 1652, and continued to develop their colonization until the coming of the British in the nineteenth century. The Dutch—called Boers in South Africa—moved northward and continued their history until their two republics were incorporated in the British Empire by the Boer-British War, 1900, and organized as a part of the Commonwealth of South Africa, in 1908. South Africa thus gradually came to be regarded as a "White-man's Country," and its missionary history falls largely under a separate category.

After the early Portuguese contacts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the west coast was not occupied by Europeans except at bases for the iniquitous slave trading, which continued to the middle of the nineteenth century. Exploration was resumed in 1795, when Mungo Park undertook his heroic explorations of the Niger country for eleven years. Richard and John Lander aroused great excitement in England by their explorations and discoveries from 1827-34. The opening up of all this section was completed by Du Chaillu, 1857-65. The modern opening of East Africa properly begins with the work of the German missionaries,

under the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Krapf (1839-53) and Rebmann (1846-75). Failing in their efforts to reach the Abyssinians and Gallas, they undertook to advance inland from Mombosa. They gave the first approximate information concerning the extent and nature of East Africa; discovered Kilima Njaro, and, on the basis of what they regarded as necessary inferences, announced that there was an inland sea in the heart of Africa; projected wise plans for Christian missions and awakened considerable enthusiasm for the idea of an "Apostlestrasse," a missionary highway across Africa from east to west. Speke and Burton (1847) were joined by Grant, in 1860, in their explorations, to which Cameron added the completing work from 1875.

The Sudan had long been penetrated by Arabs in the pursuit of their slave trade. Richardson and Barth entered on explorations from 1849, and Rohlfs in 1864-67. This region continues to attract explorers and adventurers down to the present day, when modern scientific knowledge and appliances make it far less dangerous and irksome than formerly.

Central Africa is especially the gift of missions to the world's knowledge and to European exploitation. Robert Moffatt, of the London Missionary Society, led the way from 1837, to be followed by David Livingstone, whose name heads the list of heroes of both missions and exploration on the African Continent. His thirty-three years of remarkable labours are perhaps without a parallel in the annals of adventure, during which, without any sort of personal ambition, he made a name whose influence is unsurpassed in modern history. He devoted his life with great humility and absolute courage to the service of Jesus Christ in behalf of the most backward and neglected of the sons of man. Indirectly and unintentionally, he opened the way for much of British expansion in Africa. He exerted supreme influence in bringing about a revulsion of Christendom against slavery and the slave trade, with its horrors and iniquities. He inspired great extension in the knowledge of primitive peoples and languages. All this he did as a missionary of the Christ of the Cross. The third name forever linked with those of Moffatt and Livingstone, is that of Henry M. Stanley. It is well known how, as a newspaper correspondent, he was sent, in 1871, by the *New York Herald*, to find Livingstone; how his meeting with Livingstone in the heart of Africa and Livingstone's attitude brought to Stanley a new interpretation of Jesus Christ and of human devotion to Him; how from that time onward Stanley was himself imbued with the missionary spirit, and in a second period of exploration, 1876-79, carried to completion the work of Livingstone and left Africa open to the gaze of the world, with all its varied challenge.

TWO CLASSES OF PROBLEMS

In all these regions the history of Africa has continued to be largely a story of the development of commerce, territorial appropriations and empire building. It is also a story of the grappling of Christian missions with the grave problems of Africa. These problems are of two classes. First, there are the superstitions, the inhumanities, the cruelties, the filth,

the idleness, the abuses of women, the neglect and cruelties toward children, all the abominations of the massed heathenism. Second, there are the problems which were brought by the Europeans in their invasion of Africa. There were the inevitable problems of the impact of an advanced civilization upon undeveloped peoples. There were the more serious problems of the vices, injustices and evils inflicted by selfish exploitation in the interest of gain. There were problems inevitably incident to the occupation by Europeans of territory which had previously been in possession of the Africans. Then there were the problems of empire building, growing out of conflicts between the various land-grabbing peoples, and conflict of interests between the whites and the blacks. As someone has facetiously remarked, when the conscience of Christendom compelled the white man to leave off stealing Africans from Africa, he proceeded to steal Africa from the Africans, a procedure which has almost been completed. Until 1884, such European governments as were prepared for it made their independent incursions into African territory, staked out their national claims and selected settlements which pre-empted for them ever increasing sections of the continent. British, French, Belgians and Portuguese were foremost in this. By this time the interests of these various powers were overlapping and encroaching upon each other; and the recently constituted German Empire was eagerly entering the field to press her belated claims. In order to avoid friction, while they proceeded to the complete partition of Africa, the nations came together in the famous Berlin Conference, 1884-5. With maps of the continent before them, they proceeded to allocate among them all that remained of Africa, agreeing to respect each other's rights, to maintain open trade privileges, and not to interfere with one another in the carrying forward of their work. The rights and interests of the Africans in the territory were wholly ignored, although there was at least a verbal commitment to considering in all cases the moral and material welfare of the Africans. For the next fifteen years these powers proceeded with a fair degree of freedom from strife with each other, while each country proceeded in the appropriation of its territory, making conquest over whatever native opposition might arise.

At the end of the century, British interests and ambitions were seriously encroaching upon the rights and claims of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The imperial programme of Cecil Rhodes, the great British empire builder in South Central Africa, and the location of the diamond mines, carried British interests over the Boer borders. The Boers had already trekked all the way from the Cape, in two great migratory movements, to make room for the ever-progressing British. They could not go further. For one hundred and fifty years they had been content quietly to reap the natural benefits of an inviting land, while they almost wholly disregarded the natural and human rights of the Africans, whom they ever drove out of their own way or impressed into slave service in the interest of the invaders. When the diamond mines were discovered, the Boers were content to allow their riches to be developed by more progressive *Uitlanders* (foreigners), while they retained legal regulation of their operation and drew rich royalties from all the output. The foreigners

had no voice in the laws regulating their rights and privileges within the territory of the governments. Conflict was inevitable. In any case, a people who can for decades use, for cattle grazing, lands under which lie the richest mineral deposits in the whole earth, cannot permanently remain in ownership and control; a people who ruthlessly disregard the natural rights of backward peoples will be replaced by those who will prove better stewards. The British-Boer War aroused against the British Government great resentment in Great Britain, in America, and in other parts of the world. The outcome, especially with the formation of the Union of South Africa, in 1908, greatly simplified the growing problems of European occupation in Africa.

The World War introduced a new crisis in Europe's African occupation, and is very greatly affecting the progress of Christian missions. Germany's colonies were expropriated and placed under mandate of France, Great Britain and the South African Union. Germany could not be expected to remain content with this arrangement, and the League of Nations will yet have no little trouble with readjustments which must inevitably be made.

EFFORTS FOR SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION

It is in the face of all the complications of this century of advance of Europe into Africa that we must consider the efforts of the Christian churches to bring about the spiritual redemption of Africa. With the numerous races, religions and political divisions it is quite impossible to find any unity for the treatment of Christian progress in Africa. There are very few features which are common to the entire continent. The development of mission work in a multitude of smaller or larger areas has been almost wholly independent of that in other areas. Earlier Protestant attempts from 1737 to 1800 have been sketched already. From 1795 Protestant efforts followed very largely along the general idea of colonial missions, at least until the death of Livingstone, in 1873. From Livingstone's death until about 1890 we meet with numerous tentative efforts of a Christendom aroused to enthusiastic effort to respond to the call of Africa. By degrees permanent allocations were established by various boards and societies, the situation and opportunities came to be generally understood, after which there was, generally speaking, what we may call a settling down into progressive effort to evangelize and Christianize this great continent, so long neglected by the Christian Church.

Before undertaking brief summaries of work in various sections, it is well to call attention to certain features which apply more or less generally to the African undertakings.

It has already been indicated that the aggressions of politics, trade and empire have seriously interfered with the activities and with the successes of missionaries in Africa. During the period of Dutch occupation in South Africa, no religion was tolerated save that of the Reformed Church, and that church took almost no interest in the evangelization of the Africans. When the British displaced the Dutch at the Cape, in 1799, they were no more tolerant and very little more interested in giving the heathen the

Gospel. During the brief period of reoccupation by the Dutch, 1802-1806, they reversed their rigid policy of the preceding one hundred and fifty years and permitted Catholic priests to locate at the Cape, in 1805. These were forced out by the British when they took charge again in 1806. They were permitted to re-enter in 1820, but for a long while with permission only to minister to the foreign Catholic population, without making any efforts at missionary work.

Portuguese and French have constantly made Protestant work extremely difficult when it was permitted at all in territory under their control, and have put limitations on the work of Catholic missionaries whenever these have interfered with their unjust and inhuman treatment of the natives, which, alas, has been all too seldom.

Germans encouraged German missions in their own territories, limited the operations of Protestants from other nations, and restricted Catholic operations until 1905.

The exploitation of the weaknesses and depravities of the primitive peoples in the interest of base gain has, in Africa, been one of the most shameful exhibitions of the depravity of men from so-called Christian lands with a greed for gain that threw aside their consideration of humanity. Millions of gallons of intoxicating liquors continue to flow into Africa. Often when, as notably in the case of the remarkable King Khama, African rulers have sought to protect their people from the debasing influence of American and European traders, they have been disregarded and overridden. Almost always the ships that have carried in missionaries have carried articles of trade which were calculated to debase the already degraded peoples and to hinder efforts at their deliverance.

There has been little hesitation on the part of foreigners at taking advantage of the ignorance and helplessness of the natives in the furtherance of their own aims. Even when the conscience of Christendom had, by the middle of last century, compelled the cessation of slave trading, enforced native labour under most destructive conditions continued and increased. The agitation and investigation which uncovered before the world the unspeakable horrors which were perpetrated under Belgian exploitation in the Congo Free State resulted in modification of the worst features of this iniquity, but did not abolish it. Disregard for the rights of the natives has been no less flagrant and destructive in numerous other instances in various parts.

Indian immigration has complicated the Christian task, as well as economic and political conditions, in large sections in the south and east of Africa.

Death has taken a heavy toll of missionaries to Africa. The conditions of the west coast long decimated the ranks of the volunteers, which, however, seem never lacking in recruits. Even to the present day the death rate remains pathetically high from the Gold Coast to the Congo, and few are the missionaries who can survive the climate for periods of long service. The conditions in Africa make such an emotional appeal that there have been a number of unenlightened attempts at evangelization. A long and tragic story could be written of the private and limited

organizations which have sent out poorly equipped workers with little knowledge of the conditions into which they were going, and with a blind faith in miraculous or magic protection of their lives and equipment for their work, who wasted their efforts and in very many cases lost their lives without accomplishing any permanent results.

The conditions in Africa call for a larger measure of industrial missionary undertaking than in other lands. This form of missionary work has played a very large part in missionary method. A few missions have undertaken to make themselves self-sustaining while introducing the arts and forms of civilized life amongst the pagan peoples. These have usually been unable to maintain themselves and have had either to abandon the effort, or to procure support from home bases. Yet industrial missions have constituted a very important factor in most of the normal missionary undertakings in Africa. It has been possible in numerous instances for the missions partly to sustain their work by means of the output of the students in industrial arts. Recently an interesting proof of the success and value of such missions has been brought out in East Africa, where, after years of missionary training, the life of the people had been so changed that the shops and factories of the missions have found themselves in hurtful competition with private industries, and were under the necessity for restricting these lines of work.

All forms of educational missions have been introduced into Africa. There have been extensive discussions about the types most appropriate under the conditions that obtain. Obviously elementary education was absolutely necessary, and continues to be a compelling need. Natives have been employed in primary and in secondary schools, often with only the slightest preparation for their work. Doctrinaire criticism of such schools and such teaching are easy, but Donald Fraser is right in insisting that it is still true that the "Bush School," even with its very modest equipment and with its teacher poorly trained, remains the most powerful factor in bringing about the civilization of Africa and the greatest hope for a moderately intelligent Christian following. Fraser intelligently recognizes that this does not obviate the necessity for schools of all grades of curriculum and equipment. There must be the widest adaptation of resources to needs. Increasingly there must be the highest educational training, both in general culture and in educational equipment for Christian leadership, and that both for the ministry and for the general direction of an ever-growing civilization and culture.

AFRICANS FOR MISSIONS IN AFRICA

From the beginning of the modern missionary movement from time to time efforts have been made to use Africans as missionaries in Africa. One of the earliest efforts was to send African youth to England for education, that they might return and lead their own people. Africans from the United States have from time to time been sent by the societies of the white denominations. In limited measure the Negro churches in the United States have undertaken missionary work. There have been some notable successes in these efforts. On the whole, however, they have

not been satisfactory. Even in the case of the once famous Bishop Crowther, of the English Episcopal Church, Canon Robinson confesses disappointment and pronounces "the experiment of placing an African Bishop to supervise a mission . . . must regretfully be admitted . . . an almost complete failure." That was forty years ago. With the increase in experience and the growing background, and the general improvement of conditions, natives are showing themselves far more capable of leadership. While there are not yet many Aggreys, it is most encouraging to find that there are some.

"The Ethiopian Movement" has had a number of different exponents, among them the African Methodist Episcopal Church, originated by Negroes who seceded from the Methodist Society of Philadelphia, in 1787. In 1816 they formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1900 this church set aside Levy Coppin as "Bishop and Chairman of the South African and Transvaal Conferences." He was to connect himself with an Ethiopian Movement that began in the Transvaal among the Basutos, in 1886. This movement, in 1892, came under the leadership of one Makone, an ordained Wesleyan, who led in the establishment of "The Ethiopian Church." There were various other secessions from the English Wesleyan missions. An effort was made to unite them all in a Christian movement independent of the various Methodist missions. Characteristically, these Negroes were not able to hold together. A division was led by Dwane which established relations with the Anglican Church at Capetown. This movement for religious independence was looked upon with fear and disfavour by the various South African political governments. These governments undertook to deal with the movement jointly, in 1903-4. The report of their commission is extremely interesting in its effort to avoid violation of the rights of religious liberty, while at the same time seeking utterly to discourage any such movements. They advise strongly against them, but suggest no repressive measures except to provide "that no minister of religion should solemnize a marriage without being licensed as a marriage officer." Of course, such licenses would be difficult for the objectionable ministers to obtain.

OUTLINES FOR THE VARIOUS AREAS

We must now briefly summarize the missionary history in the various geographical areas. It would be too confusing to undertake to lead the reader through these in chronological order. While it would be interesting to take up each of the missionary agencies and outline its work, this would involve jumping and skipping in a way that would leave only confusion in the end; and among the scores of organizations, some of them ephemeral, it would be quite beyond the limits of our space to consider them all. Perhaps the best one can do is to begin with Spanish Negro Africa, on the northwest, and follow the coast and the coastal approaches around the continent until we reach Uganda. We shall include in this chapter also brief outlines concerning Madagascar and Mauritius. While these islands are not African in their population or in their native history, they are closely related to Africa in their European connections.

NORTHWEST

North of Sierra Leone lie territories held by Spain, France and Great Britain, including Senegambia, Guinea, Gambia and Dahomey. In these regions the English Wesleyans have operated in a small way since the early part of the nineteenth century; the Paris Society since 1855, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the latter part of the century. Aggressive efforts at extensive evangelization have been lacking, and the results small. The Roman Catholics have had more extensive work, but even they have only twenty to twenty-five thousand members in a total population of twelve millions or more.

Sierra Leone was selected in 1786 by some English enthusiasts interested in founding in Africa a home for freed slaves. They hoped in this way to encourage the movement of liberation, to build up a profitable colony, and to form a base from which Christianity and civilization might be extended widely amongst the natives. The first group of four hundred Negroes and sixty Europeans was carried out in 1787 from England. In 1792 eleven hundred and thirty-one Negroes arrived from Nova Scotia under the direction of John Clarkson. The first group proved utterly unfit, and various discouragements and disappointments attended the effort. It was a complete financial failure, and in 1807 the British Government took over the enterprise, in the same year in which the British slave trade was abolished. With great patience and persistence a successful colony was ultimately established, and the Fourah Bay District is now an important centre of British occupation.

Among the Nova Scotia freedmen were a number of Methodists. These established relations with English Wesleyans, and asked for preachers to be sent. The first response brought no preachers, but some mechanics who were expected to form a Christian colony and establish friendly relations with the Methodist Negroes. These men were unfit for their task, and did more harm than good. In 1811, however, a genuine missionary approach was made, and has continued to the present day. The movement lacked aggressiveness and never extended very widely. With the centenary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1913, new life was projected into the undertaking. The centre of these operations has from the first been Freetown.

More important have been the operations of the Church Missionary Society. The Scottish societies at Glasgow and Edinburgh selected this as their first field, in 1797, and sent out six missionaries, one of whom, Peter Greig, was the first African missionary martyr of Protestantism, being murdered by the natives after only a year of service. Three of the others fell victims to the climate, and the other two returned to Scotland. This undertaking attracted the attention of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, which was until 1814 the name of the Church Missionary Society. Unable to find missionaries in their own church, they procured from time to time a number of Germans out of the seminary of "Father" Jänicke, at Berlin. Their missionaries continued to labour amongst the African freedmen, being encouraged particularly by Edward Bickersteth, an able lawyer who visited the colony in behalf of the society,

in 1816. Schools were established and the Fourah Bay College began its work in 1827, with Samuel Crowther as one of the six students. One of the Germans, Jansen, proved a great religious leader, and brought about a powerful movement of genuine Christianization. He died at the age of thirty-four, after only seven years of service, but had wielded an influence most remarkable. In spite of severe losses and much discouragement and criticism, the society continued its operations and, in 1860, was able to recognize the independent "Church of Sierra Leone," with nine independent congregations with their own pastors. The society continued its missionary work with four parishes not yet ready for independence. Seven years later all the congregations were under the control of the native church, the society continuing in educational work.

Besides these two outstanding missions, the American African Methodists, the Friends and the American Missionary Society, which passed over its work to the United Brethren in Christ, in 1855, and the Paris Missionary Society have conducted missions to a limited extent in these regions. The Roman Catholic missions have not been extensive.

Liberia takes its name from the purpose of the American Colonization Society (1816) to found here a colony for freed American Negroes. Some twenty thousand of these were transplanted first and last. In 1847 it was declared an independent state, ambitiously modelled after the United States. These American Negroes were located in the midst of some two million natives, whom they have undertaken to dominate. The Americans were almost all nominally Christian, but have never proven an aggressive Christian force, nor have they assumed a proper attitude toward the original Africans. Even in 1931 it became necessary for the United States Government, which has always acted as a sort of patron of the enterprise, to make very emphatic representations to the government in Monrovia, demanding the discontinuance of slavery.

The Colonists were Methodists and Baptists, and carried their pastors with them. Two of these, Lott Carey and Colin Teague, founded a Baptist mission in West Africa. Carey was a man of great force and consecration. In 1835 the Baptist General Convention sent two white missionaries and continued working in this field until 1856. Since that time Baptist work has been mainly represented by the Lott Carey Missionary Society and the National Baptist Convention (Negro).

Other efforts were undertaken by the Basle Mission, the American Presbyterians, the American Methodists, the American Board of Commissioners, the Protestant Episcopal Church and the United Lutherans. Of these, the Methodists are most important. Upon the organization of the Methodist Missionary Society, in 1833, Melville B. Cox was sent to Liberia. He died within four months, but his last words: "Though a thousand fall, let not Africa be given up," sent a thrill of devotion which stirred the Methodists to continue their effort. In 1887 Bishop William Taylor imparted fresh impetus with his great scheme for missionary colonies throughout West Africa, from Liberia to Angola. This wild scheme was, of course, a pathetic failure. It fell to Bishop Hartzell to reveal to his church the true state of affairs and to lead it into serious and sane missionary work.

The Liberia Methodist Conference is a wholly self-supporting church in Monrovia, where there is located also "The College of West Africa." A number of schools are conducted, and there is a membership of about eight thousand. It cannot be said that the experiment of Christian colonization of Africans has been a success from the standpoint of Christian missions.

The Ivory Coast, under the French, has not been a Protestant mission field. The Roman Catholics, since 1895, have conducted a moderately successful work, with a few thousand followers. Dahomey, also a French colony, has seen only slight Protestant work under the British Wesleyans. The Roman Catholics have laboured since 1882, and with increasing encouragement in recent years.

The Gold Coast, under the British, has been occupied by the Wesleyans and by the Basle Missionary Society. The Wesleyans began in 1834, in response to the request of a group of native youths for some one to direct them in the study of the Word of God. The heavy death rate made it a practical impossibility to evangelize widely with missionaries from England. A training school was established at Cape Coast for preparing a native ministry of teachers and preachers, which became an institution of great importance when the British Government began later to develop an educational system. Since the scientific conquest of climatic dangers it has become possible for Europeans to occupy the field in much larger numbers, and the work has shown great prosperity. During the World War there arose a native by the name of Harris who created a great stir as a "prophet" and preacher of repentance. There resulted one of the mass movements which present such serious problems for Christian missions. In six years, by 1919, the missionaries baptized more than thirty-six thousand adults, and had fifteen thousand more in preparation for baptism the next year.

The Basle Mission made repeated heroic efforts, and finally succeeded in establishing a successful work in five different districts. The mission was first undertaken in 1827. Its definite success did not begin until 1868. At the outbreak of the World War the mission amongst the Ashanti was experiencing great progress, with twenty-four thousand communicant members, a large number of stations and a rapidly increasing number of competent workers. Of course, the War seriously interfered. The United Free Church of Scotland undertook to supervise its continuance.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, although the first to undertake missionary work in West Africa, through Thomas Thompson, who went to West Africa in 1751 as a chaplain, has never proven an aggressive missionary force in this region. It has been, for the most part, content to minister to the membership of the Anglican Church, made up of colonists and Africans immediately associated with the life of the colony.

The North German (Bremen) Society began work on the slave coast in 1847. For thirty-seven years it devoted itself mainly to cultural missions and had gathered only two hundred and fifty converts through the efforts of one hundred and ten missionaries. Then the policy of Christianizing was adopted, and there were ten thousand converts by the outbreak of the War. Since the War, the work has been conducted chiefly by

native pastors. The Wesleyans entered this same region in 1843, but have not been able extensively to cope with the serious obstacles.

NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS

The century-long story of British acquisition, occupation and development of the Niger region is now in the midst of a chapter of such prosperity as makes the three hundred and forty thousand square miles and twenty millions population one of the major areas of this continent of opportunity. In the same way the story of Christian missions, with its tragedies, vicissitudes and heroism has come into a chapter filled with assurance and hope in the promise of a rapidly growing Christianity. While adversaries are still many, the door is set open.

It is fitting that the Church of England, through the Church Missionary Society, has from the first been the chief factor. When, in 1830, the Lander brothers solved "the mystery of the Niger," Scotch and English at once began efforts to open up the region for trade. The pioneer was Laird, two of whose motives were to destroy the slave trade and to open a way for the Gospel. Providence was anticipating this move. In 1822 two British cruisers overhauled a Portuguese slaver starting out with two hundred Yoruba captives who were landed in Sierra Leone free. Among them was a lad of royal blood. Baptized in 1825 as Samuel Crowther, he was educated in England and in the Fourah Bay College, and in 1844 was a member of the first mission, led by Townsend into Nigeria from the Sierra Leone mission base. Through the various experiences of building up trade and colonies; inter-tribal wars and native efforts to expel the invaders; then through the slow process of constructing a new civilization, the missionary work of the Church Society proceeded. DuPlessis divides the history into "fourteen years of successful beginnings (1846-1860), twenty years of troubled progress, amid many disturbances and interruptions (1860-1880), and forty years of uninterrupted and steady expansion," which has now continued through another decade with accelerating growth. To the Yoruba mission was added the Niger mission, in 1857, but not to be securely established until 1862. The plan was to have an all-African mission with numerous stations covering the basins of the lower Niger and the Benue, with Crowther as bishop. The high hopes were not realized, but permanent work was established, and in 1890 the North Nigerian Mission was separately organized. This extended into the Hausa States after 1900, where, among other forces, the Cambridge University Mission has worked among the cannibal tribes.

Southern Baptists, upon their separate organization in 1845, turned to Africa as their first field after China and made a tentative effort in Liberia, in 1846. It was in 1850 that they opened at Abeokuta their permanent Yoruba mission, under the pioneer leadership of R. J. Bowen. The Yoruba wars interrupted the work when it had barely begun. Then the Civil War interrupted the work from the home base and left the denomination in poverty. It was 1875 when they definitely gave over efforts in Liberia, through Negro missionaries, and concentrated on Nigeria, their one African field since then. The support was limited and

the work made slow progress until within the twentieth century. There are now four vigorous central stations, inadequately manned and equipped, but greatly prospering. There are approximately twenty thousand members, rapid increase and unlimited openings for advance.

For a long while the Government depended upon mission schools alone for education, adopted a policy of grants-in-aid, then established their own system, organized and supported with determination, and began supervising mission schools to require efficiency.

The Sudan United Mission originated in 1904 under the lead of Dr. Alexander Whyte to try to found a chain of stations across the whole Sudan from the Niger to the Nile. Branches in several countries participate. The difficulties are great and, although some progress has been made and there were seventy missionaries in 1928, large success is not yet in sight.

Only to mention the interdenominational Sudan Interior Mission from Canada, the Mennonite and Plymouth Missions in Upper Nigeria, we turn to the Calabar Mission of the United Presbyterian (United Free) Church of Scotland, begun in 1846. In spite of difficulties, dissensions and slow progress, the work never lapsed and has come into prosperous times. Mary Slessor has made this mission famous. Her forty years of service were amazing in daring, independence, influence over the natives and with government officials. Primitive Methodists began their first mission in 1870 on Fernando Po, and later entered an unoccupied region in the interior, where patient and able work is now winning a growing harvest.

The Cameroons and Gaboon territories complete the stretch of "West Africa." Here the pioneers were the English Baptists and Alfred Saker, who retired to England in 1876, worn out after thirty-two years of toil, had the testimony of Livingstone that his work was "the most remarkable on the African Coast." He created a written language, translated into it the entire Bible through twenty-seven years, changed a cannibal region to an ordered community and began a Christian history. British neglect permitted the Germans to take possession, in 1884, with the result of the Baptist missionaries withdrawing under the impossible conditions. The Basle Society took up work; in 1891 German Baptists came in to minister to the distressed, now independent, Baptist churches; and the Gossner Society was just beginning when the War came to terminate all German work. The American Board began in Gaboon, in 1842, the mission to become Presbyterian with the division of work, in 1870. The work extended to the Southern Cameroons. It has had the problems of territory under three European powers, chiefly France, which has so hampered an otherwise successful work that the last of it was transferred to the Paris Society, in 1913. Baptists in French territory are still harassed by French regulations, and the Baptist World Alliance is trying to secure kindlier conditions.

It is in this "French Congo" region that Dr. Albert Schweitzer has devoted himself with such picturesque unselfishness and heroism to medical missions at Lambarene. His course has tremendously influenced sentiment in favour of missions in a period so largely characterized by neglect

and indifference. There has been developed a Christian following of some hundreds of thousands.

Catholics, since their entrance, in 1890, specially favoured by the French, have won a following of perhaps twenty-five thousand.

THE CONGO AND ANGOLA

When Stanley canoed down the Congo one thousand six hundred miles, in 1877, and for the first time showed that this stream was neither the Nile, as Livingstone had surmised, nor the Niger, as some had guessed, he sent a call for England to come in and possess "the grand highway of commerce to West Central Africa." Failing to persuade the British, he turned to Belgium, and the destiny of the Congo was determined. This was in 1877-1879. Belgian armies destroyed the Arab state of Tippu-Tib and, with the expulsion of the Arabs from the regions of Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, cleared the way across Africa to Uganda.

Already, in 1887, a Baptist layman of Leeds was leading the Baptist Society to undertake a mission on the Lower Congo, for which he made an advance gift of one thousand pounds. The society sent from the Cameroons two famous explorers, Grenfell and Comber. In 1878 the mission was opened, manned by remarkably gifted men. Grenfell was second only to Livingstone as an explorer, and traced out the way for a proposed chain of stations designed to join with those of the Church Missionary Society reaching down from Uganda. Bentley was one of the most remarkable linguists and men of letters. With them were others only less able. Heavy losses from death and invalidism were supplied by volunteers. Bentley was broken, but bravely working on his literary labours when this writer was a guest with him in a London home, in June, 1905, but he ended his labours at Bristol a few months later, and Grenfell died the next year.

H. Grattan Guinness, founder of the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, 1872, and of so many enterprises for the furthering of the Gospel, fathered the Livingstone Inland Mission, after Stanley's suggestion that the Congo's name be changed to Livingstone. They began in 1878. In 1884, when the financing of the work was proving too much for the resources, Guinness transferred "staff, steamers and other property to the American Baptist Missionary Union, which thus entered initially into a heritage of an important and growing work which they have developed and extended till, with the blessing of God, it is one of the notable successes in Africa. Dr. and Mrs. Guinness next launched "the Congo Balolo" Mission to reach into new territory. In 1909, the Swedish Missionary Union took a share of the limitless field.

In 1890, Samuel Lapsley, of Alabama, and W. H. Shepherd, an Alabama Negro, went into the Congo as representatives of the Southern Presbyterians. In spite of serious hindrances from the state, because of the opposition to slavery and other outrages on the natives, this mission has been pronounced "one of the most successful . . . in Africa," with results in forty years "little less than marvellous," almost twenty thousand church members.

The Disciples of Christ (Foreign Christian Missionary Society) sent out two young men, in 1897, to begin a work centreing in Bolenge. They have gathered some twenty thousand converts and have planted a Christian civilization in the wild forests, and inspired the native churches to aggressive missionary effort among other tribes with whom they formerly fought.

Among numerous minor missions in the Congo, the Christian and Missionary Alliance finally won some success after serious blunders, due to impracticable ideas and methods. The Heart of Africa Mission, led by the noted Charles T. Studd, undertook to reach small, neglected tribes by means of a sort of common *patois*. The work began in 1913. Mr. Studd returned to England in the summer of 1931, to die. Southern Methodists entered in 1914, and several other missions about that time.

Roman Catholics have, in the modern period, again undertaken work in the Congo, and have some twenty thousand converts.

Angola, Portuguese territory for almost four hundred and fifty years, has, nevertheless, only a small Catholic membership, not over fifteen thousand.

American and Canadian Congregationalists have laboured in the western parts. The character of the administration by the Portuguese left the natives undeveloped and often more degraded than "raw heathen." Since a deputation visit in 1911, larger success has come. Great changes in the social, economic and moral conditions have been effected, numerous schools are ministering education and the church membership grows slowly.

William Taylor, already introduced in this story, got himself appointed "Bishop of All Africa" by the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1884. In the Congo and Angola countries he planted numerous stations on a self-supporting plan. He was a persuasive speaker, a tireless traveller and worker, a man of great emotional spirituality. He led hundreds of volunteers, many of them wholly unfit, into Africa for disaster and failure, until the society of his church finally rescued what remnants were left, and Bishop Hartzell put the work on a sound basis.

The Plymouth Brethren were led by the strange and devoted F. S. Arnot, a Scotsman, to found a number of widely scattered missions in Angola, and on to Lake Mwera, where Dan Crawford made Luanza famous. The mission had, at Arnot's death, 1914, sixteen stations in five fields through a range of twelve hundred miles from Benguela, on the coast, to Luanza.

The scandalous maltreatment of the Congo natives by the exploiters under Leopold's administration have been in large measure corrected in recent years. Portuguese have never surrendered slavery upon conviction, and under the guise of indentured labour continue in Angola to maltreat the natives. The criticism of their course and exposure of their cruelties cause an unfriendly official attitude toward Protestant missions.

SOUTH AFRICA

Americans must not forget their own history of injustice, robbery and forcible transportation of Indians, when they come to study the course

of the colonists in South Africa in relation to the Negroes, nor may they excuse themselves wholly by calling attention to the fact that two hundred years of Christian progress ought to have made a difference in the attitude of a stronger invading people toward a weaker indigenous race. In both cases our human nature is shown to be very far from trustworthy, even under profession of following the Christ, and even in a missionary era. It must be remembered that in South Africa the whites are outnumbered even yet by almost four to one.

The Dutch Reformed Church, on which in the first instance and for a hundred and fifty years rested the responsibility, has a dark record relieved by only a few grey spots. Neglect would have been blameworthy; active opposition was unpardonable. Even in the nineteenth century it was not until 1857 that the synod, under pressure of its younger men, seriously undertook "to discover some way by which mission work could be placed upon a sounder footing." Then at first the only two men that could be found to go to the heathen were a Swiss and a Scot. Yet this was a beginning, and it was followed up until, at length, this church has several moderately successful missions to the Negroes beyond their own parish, and has more prosperous missions in Central Africa. They have given somewhat more attention to natives within Boer territory, and have long had a vigorous home mission organization. Like American Christians, however, the first undertaking of this church has been to provide for the white pioneers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were several cases of missionaries sent from America being induced to turn aside from the heathen and become pastors of weak Dutch churches. The improvement in recent years is marked.

Next we may turn to a number of German societies which have laboured—until 1914—in close relation with the Dutch, and in what was German Southwest Africa. First among these in time and work is the Rhenish, which sent its first workers in 1829, and built up strong missions in Cape Colony, Orange Free State (as it became), in Namaqualand, and in the important centres of German territory, both Great Namaqualand and Damaraland. The Berlin Society, from 1834, laboured widely, chiefly among Hottentots and Kafirs. The Hermansburg Mission was not a success as a colony mission, but was abundantly successful as an evangelizing force. They began in 1854. The Hanoverian Free Church Mission, from 1878, was never large, but, like the other German Mission, was making good progress until the War.

British colonists were little more ready to evangelize Africans than were the Dutch. If they were less positively cruel, they equally made the interests, the rights, and even the lives of the Negroes subordinate to their own aims and concerns. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the agency through which the Church of England followed British subjects in South Africa. This they did so feebly that, in 1847, they had but fourteen clergy and eleven churches, and next to no missionary work had been undertaken. Then a bishop, Gray, was appointed who was truly missionary, and by his death, in 1872, "had done much to establish Anglican missions in many different parts." The Scotch

Episcopal Church sent a bishop for Kaffraria, in 1873. The interest continued, the work expanded. The English Church has dioceses covering more or less the entire Commonwealth. Hampered by too close a connection with the ruling power, its missions have, nevertheless, won many converts, and its schools have trained a growing native ministry.

First in missionary importance for South Africa is the London Missionary Society. Its first missionaries were sent in 1799. Its roster holds the names of Van der Kemp, Philip, Moffatt, Livingstone, Mackenzie in its long and honourable list. By 1859 the society was able to form its churches into the *Congregational Union of South Africa*, in co-operation with which the society continued its labours. American Congregationalists, from 1834, worked in Natal, making the Zulus their special charge. Thus three Congregational bodies occupy large place in South African Christianity and press their work into Central Africa. The winning of Africaner by Moffatt, and later the remarkable Christian King Khama, have made the Bechnana missions outstanding proofs of the power of the grace of God in Christ Jesus.

The Scotch Presbyterians, through the Glasgow Society, began in Kaffraria, in 1820, and have made a great contribution by their educational work. "Stewart of Lovedale" made that centre famous. For thirty-eight years he guided a remarkable industrial school and built up comprehensive cultural courses. His death, in 1905, did not check its growth and influence.

The special field of the Paris Society, whose first missionaries came in 1829, has been among the Basutos and Barotsi. Their most distinguished missionary was Francois Coillard, 1858-1904. The work among the Barotsi was extremely difficult and required great courage and patience; but in his will bequeathing it to the churches of his native land, Coillard adjured them never to give it up, and predicted the rich harvest which has followed the "sowing . . . in suffering and tears."

English Wesleyans sent Shaw, in 1816. As early as 1832, immigrants, chiefly, were constituted into the Wesleyan Church of South Africa, and Methodist work has been carried on without sharp distinction between mission work and work among Europeans. American Methodists and some others have shared the work in Rhodesia and Natal. Altogether, this body now numbers a half million.

Andrew Murray inaugurated a school for training missionaries for the Reformed Church, in 1877. Under his influence the South Africa General Mission began in 1889, and in 1908 another Mission Memorial of him was inaugurated. These have laboured in Angola and Nyasaland. Since 1820 the Murray family have figured nobly in Africa.

Scandinavian, Swedish and Finnish societies, besides several undenominational missions, have contributed to the work.

Baptists formed their own South African Missionary Society, in 1892, and have, at least since 1905, a Baptist Union of South Africa. The Presbyterian Church of South Africa has also its missions.

Roman Catholics have six vicarates and three apostolic prefectures, and have stations in almost all the various political divisions. Statistics of

their converts are not available, as they do not distinguish European and African members in reports. They have not been very successful.

EAST AFRICA

From the Zambesi to Abyssinia lie Portuguese East Africa, Nyasa, Tanganyika, the Kenya Colony and Uganda. These geographical divisions are in part so recent as not to furnish a very satisfactory plan for studying the inauguration and growth of the missionary work. The Germans came in to claim and win, after some conflict, German East Africa, only to be eliminated by the World War, so that British Tanganyika, and in part Kenya, take its place. All these changes came when the missionary occupation was in its earlier and more trying stages, further to complicate the work. Within this period, also, Arab occupation of parts of the territory and Arab slave trading have been eliminated, and this process complicated the work of missions. Native tribal wars, multiplicity of small unsettled tribes and numerous languages were additional obstacles. Lastly the climate and the primitive hardships took a terrible toll from inexperienced and sometimes incompetent and often poorly equipped pioneer workers.

The Portuguese Government was unfriendly to evangelical missions, and did not encourage Catholic missions until the Republic, when opposition became less active. Catholics have won but a small following in Portuguese territory. Protestant work in Portuguese territory has been chiefly outreaches of the Nyasaland missions. American Methodists, Free Methodists, English Wesleyans, and the Swiss Romande have some work. The Universities' Mission extended its work eastward from Blantyre, and some of the German missions reached into Portuguese territory. It is as yet, however, a largely unoccupied field, with probably fewer than twenty-five thousand Christians, Protestant and Catholic, European and native.

Nyasa, a small British territory west and south of Lake Nyasa, became the centre of a great enthusiasm by reason of its being the region of Livingstone's last labours and of his romantic death challenge. Already, in 1857, at Cambridge, he had directed attention of university students to Africa: "I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again! . . . Do you carry on the work which I have begun. I leave it with you." Before his death, "The Universities Mission to Central Africa," with his personal guidance in part, had begun their work, had lost a number of men, including their first two bishops. It has continued through great discouragements, and has its missions in Zanzibar and Pemba, in several stations across Portuguese East Africa, and in a number of stations centering in the cathedral Island of Limoka, in Lake Nyasa. Its Zanzibar cathedral is on the site of the old slave market, abolished by British compulsion, in 1873. This mission also developed a diocese in Northern Rhodesia, in 1910.

The Livingstonia Mission of the Scottish Free Church, 1875, after a most unpromising beginning, founded a great industrial school centre, in 1895, which came to wield an influence comparable to Lovedale in South

Africa. This work, led by Dr. Laws, was later distinguished by Donald Fraser. In close proximity and full fellowship, the Established Church of Scotland, naming their chief station Blantyre, after Livingstone's birth-place, laboured until the churches of the two missions were united in the Synod of "The Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian," about 1914. From 1908 to 1921 the mission force was increased from forty-three to sixty-three, communicants grew from four thousand five hundred to fourteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-five, schools from five hundred to seven hundred and sixty-eight. An independent Zambesi Industrial Mission and an Australian Baptist Mission, with emphasis on the industrial feature, were opened, in 1892 and 1893, in the Blantyre region. The Baptist Mission made fine progress, and a flourishing station in Rhodesia was transferred, in 1914, to the Baptist Missionary Society of South Africa. Other smaller missions are found in Northern Rhodesia.

In the region west and south of Nyasa, the Dutch Reformed Church, in all its three South African Synods—Cape, Orange Free State, and Transvaal—has, within this century, pressed operations in gratifying degree and with remarkable success, except in Portuguese territory, where the Government hampered and finally closed the stations of the Transvaal mission.

In May, 1876, eight young men landed at Zanzibar. They had come under auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Back of them lay heroism and history covering thirty years of exploring, praying, enduring and dying in behalf of Africans benighted in ignorance and exploited by Arab slave traders and ruined by their own inter-tribal wars and oppressions. Krapf, Erhardt and Rebmann had paid a great price to open a way for Christ in this physical, moral and religious wilderness. Burton and Speke had laid before the gaze of Europe the reality of great lakes and snow-covered mountains about which Krapf and Rebmann had been ridiculed by incredulous stay-at-homes. Frere had been leader of an onslaught on traffic in human beings that culminated in closing the infamous markets of slaves, in 1873.

In 1875, the *Daily Telegraph* published a letter from Stanley. It had been entrusted by him to a Belgian lieutenant of Gordon, who, on his way to Khartoum, was murdered by natives. It was found in one of his boots when a punitive expedition recovered his body. Stanley told of an enlightened King Mtesa, with a large territory open for the Gospel. He was winning Mtesa from Mohammedanism to Christianity. "What a field and harvest ripe for the sickle of civilization! Where is there in all the pagan world a more promising field for a mission than Uganda?" He especially appealed to the Universities Mission, already at Zanzibar, and to the Free Methodists at Mombasa, as also "to the leading philanthropists and the pious people of England." "Here, gentlemen, is your opportunity; embrace it! . . . and I assure you that in one year you will have more converts to Christianity than all other missionaries united can number."

The response was immediate, the returns were delayed, and were purchased at a fearful price of suffering and martyrdom. In eighteen months

only Mackay and Wilson were left of the eight, and two Roman priests had arrived to carry out the papal principle to "follow up the movements of the heretics and harass and destroy their efforts." By 1882, the first bishop, Hannington, had been cruelly murdered and his party destroyed, even on his way to his parish, and the second bishop, Parker, had been cut off by fever two weeks after his arrival. Little wonder the society hesitated to make further sacrifice. But Mackay called to them from the dark depths: "Are you joking? If you tell me in earnest that such a suggestion has been made, I only answer, *Never*. Tell me, ye faint hearts, to whom ye mean to give up the mission? Is it to the murderous raiders like Mwanga, or to slave-traders from Zanzibar, or to German spirit-sellers? All are in the field, and they make no talk of giving up their respective missions."

Then came the scramble, with Uganda in the balance as between possession by English, French or Germans. The outcome is well known. The British gained their East African Protectorate, including Uganda, Germans had their East Africa, to surrender it to the British after 1914; and Kenya became a colony of major importance; while the French contented themselves at their Sudan border, near the centre of the continent.

Spiritually, the outcome was the Church of Uganda sanctified by many martyrs and a trio of names unsurpassed in any mission, Mackay, Hannington and Pilkington. By 1902, there were but one hundred and twenty communicants, but these mounted, in fifteen years, to eighteen thousand and seventy-eight, and more than doubled in ten years more, and a Christian church had come to majority and goes on, "a great rock in a weary land," a light shining in the darkness. Out from Uganda in all directions the work spread into no fewer than eight additional missions, east, west and south.

Inspired by Krapf, the United Methodist Free churches, with Wakefield and New as earliest great leaders, at great sacrifice laboured through decades to evangelize the Gallas, and also in other important missions, beginning in 1861 and never giving up.

After distressing failure in several stations, from Zanzibar to the Lake, and with almost tragic persistence, the London Missionary Society found a fruitful field among the Wemba tribe, southeast of Tanganyika.

With Germany's acquisition of four hundred thousand square miles, not only did the older societies, Berlin and Leipzig, enter the field, but new societies were formed for meeting the need. The East Africa Society, and the Neukirken, both began work in 1887, and the Moravians, in 1890, joined harmoniously in, all working with enthusiasm and with success that grew after they were once well started.

In the Kenya Colony, as it is now called, besides the Church of England, Methodists and others, the East Africa Scottish Mission began work, in 1891, and made its centre in Kikuyu, after 1898. A great industrial mission was built up, seeking to reproduce here the successes of Lovedale and Blantyre, and also to develop a powerful medical mission. In 1907 it passed to the patronage of the Mission Committee of the Church of

Scotland, but continued, as before, to "foster the spirit of comity and co-operation," which finally led to a celebrated missionary crisis and controversy which is even yet making trouble, especially for the Church of England.

The Africa Inland Mission, after the plan of the China Inland Mission, formed in the United States, 1895, set before itself the task of a chain of stations across from Mombasa to the far interior. It has experienced all sorts of disasters, but struggles forward. By 1921, it had over one hundred missionaries, all the way from their chief station in Kenya, Kijabe, to the Belgian Congo. They are undertaking to reach two hundred tribes with twenty-three languages, in fourteen of which nothing had as yet been done.

Lastly we mention the Friends Industrial Mission, with stations near Kikuyu, in which they are seeking to check the pressing tide of Mohammedanism which is faced by all the East African missions.

The Catholic Church entered East Africa, in 1869, and has distributed its work over the various areas, with missionaries from various orders of monks and nuns. In 1920, there were six hundred and fifteen and five hundred and eighteen respectively, besides twenty-eight native priests. There were nine hundred and eighty thousand two hundred and seventy adherents, as compared with one million one hundred and forty-four thousand three hundred and seventy-seven Protestants in 1925.

Africa's destiny is in the hands of Christendom; its territory under control of European countries, with Arab, Egyptian and Berber protest and interference, but without power to check its absorption. The destiny of the Africans is in the hands of the Christian churches, with Islam powerfully contesting and making difficult the progress of ministering redemption. Christian missions have made their impress upon every section of the vast continent, not forgetting that there are yet many tribes to be reached. In South Africa fully one-fourth of the Negroes are Christians; in the rest of Negro Africa only about one in forty. But the positions of Christianity have been established, its gains are accelerating, it is the progressive energy in salvation and civilization. It copes with the triple forces of opposition: pagan darkness, Mohammedan competition, and the pride and greed of European "Christians."

MADAGASCAR AND MAURITIUS

Madagascar's three and a half millions are predominantly Malay and Malanesian peoples who were without written language until this was provided by missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who began work in 1818. Radama was king at the time, and encouraged the work. In ten years there were thirty-two schools with four thousand students. In 1831, the first twenty-eight converts formed the first church. Already a new sovereign, Ranavalona I., was forbidding the schools, and in 1835 instituted persecutions which were prosecuted with such severity and determination the missionaries withdrew to Mauritius. Through twenty-six years the stations were closed, but the native Christians were not suppressed. They had the New Testament already in their hands, and the living Christ

in their hearts. Hundreds were slain, and thousands suffered afflictions calculated to destroy their faith. Yet, when the persecuting Queen died, in 1861, their number was four times as great as in 1835. Ranavalona II. was too friendly to the new religion. She and her chief minister accepted baptism and gave every encouragement to Christianity. In less than ten years a quarter of a million had flocked into the churches. Then French ambition sought the island, and French policy repressed the missionaries and Christianity. In 1896, France formally annexed Madagascar. There was a great falling away and a sifting of the wheat. By 1904, the Congregationalists had but forty-eight thousand. Their schools were so hampered that nearly all of them were closed. The English missionaries largely gave place to French Protestants (Paris Society). From 1861, the French encouraged and subsidized a Roman Catholic mission until they had possessed themselves of the island, and still encouraged Catholic interference with Protestants, although giving the Catholics less favour than formerly.

In 1864, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society both took up work, the latter to withdraw after ten years. This Church of England Mission has won a following of some fifteen thousand. The Norwegian Lutherans began a mission, in 1866, which was greatly prosperous until decimated by the French. It continued, however, and came into a fresh period of prosperity after 1910. The Friends have had a small mission. The Malagasy churches have developed a fine spirit of evangelism and have organized missions for the unreached and backward tribes. Altogether, there are about a half million Christian adherents, more than half Protestant.

Mauritius was an uninhabited island when the Dutch located it, in 1598. After a little more than a hundred years the French claimed it, and in another hundred it was British, so to remain. Its immigration population of four hundred thousand is chiefly East Indian. The two English Church societies, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and American Adventists, and the Catholics have ministered in a limited way, but the island has been largely neglected. There were seven thousand communicants in 1924.

XVIII

ABORIGINES OF THE PACIFIC

NO exactly descriptive term will define the field of the islands of the Pacific, the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand and the immigrants and imported labourers in the two Commonwealths and the Hawaiian Islands. The large islands off the coast we included with Malaysia, both for convenience and because in race and in political and religious history they are thus connected. The Philippines we reserve to include with Latin America.

The numerous groups including hundreds of islands are usually arranged for study under the three large groupings, Polynesia, beginning with Hawaii, south and west to one hundred and eighty degrees; Melanesia, on to the west in the South Pacific; Micronesia, north of the Equator and west of Polynesia. The population of all these, plus the native and coolie immigrant population of Australia and New Zealand, is under two millions. The native population was primitive and crude in all phases of their life, and many of them degraded almost beyond belief, when European contacts were established. Their numbers have decreased in nearly all groups, partly by reason of their own wars, savageries and depravities, and largely by reason of the diseases, vices and inhumanities introduced by the white races who came in to possess the lands and exploit or eliminate the people. It is estimated that there were two hundred thousand in Australia when the British arrived, while now there are hardly more than fifty thousand. In Tasmania they were already a mysterious remnant, and the last one died in 1876. In some other small islands the original inhabitants are extinct. In New Zealand the Maori population increases, and is above fifty thousand, and in American Samoa the growth was forty per cent in twenty-two years.

Proportionately to the population, these islands have had a remarkable number of able and famous missionaries. There is great similarity in the missionary history of many of the islands and groups; and as a rule the progress has been phenomenal after a footing was once gained. Often a single generation has been sufficient for Christianizing. The missionary spirit of the native Christians is admirable, and the evangelization of many of the islands has been their work, and they have been employed very extensively by the missionaries for new advances. One would expect to find the Christianity of such child-like peoples of a rather primitive type and requiring much more than a generation to reach maturity. If it comes into extensive contact with the currents of modern complicated life, its problems are seriously increased, and it sometimes suffers greatly under the experience.

The London Missionary Society and the American Board; the Church of England; Scotch and Canadian Presbyterians; English Wesleyans; and the Hawaiian Evangelical Association have been the chief Protestant agencies, with others sharing in measure. Roman Catholics have been active chiefly in French possessions, and have to their credit about one-fourth the Christians of these islands. In most of the larger islands the foreign missionary stage has been completed, or is about to be succeeded by the normal activities of Christian churches.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Up to 1851 such limited efforts as were made in Australia by the English Chaplain Marsden, the London and the Church Missionary Societies, failed to plant any permanent work among the aborigines, and an offer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to assist the Chaplain at Sydney was not accepted. In 1829, an archdeacon in New South Wales reproached the clergy that nearly half a century of intercourse with Christians had left the natives "in their original benighted and degraded state." The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel succeeded, in 1851, in starting a permanent missionary settlement at Poonindie, and by 1913 had four such stations on the mainland and one each on Moa and Groat islands. Moravians, Lutherans, Presbyterians and two German societies had each a station. An inter-denominational "New South Wales Aborigines' Mission" had twenty-seven workers in New South Wales and in West and Northwest Australia. It was necessary to give the natives the very rudiments of learning as well as religion, to induce and teach them habits of settled life, labour, and the arts of agriculture and manufacture, as well as religion. It is a difficult work, requiring great patience and perseverance.

In 1891, rigid immigration laws restricted the inflowing tides of Chinese, Hindus, Japanese, Malays and Kanakas (islanders). There were then fifty-five thousand of these, nearly half Chinese. The number was thereafter greatly reduced. Then came recognition that Australia really needed more population, and under rigid supervision and regulation immigrants are invited. The various churches of Australia include them, along with the aboriginal "blackfellows," in their home mission plans. Good work has been done since the beginning of the century, and Kanaka labourers have returned to their home islands to preach the Christ they had found in Australia.

In New Zealand the evangelization has been far more extensive and successful. The natives are of a far higher type than in Australia, where the Bushmen are at the very bottom of the human scale. Samuel Marsden, penal colony chaplain at Sydney, is the founder and father of missionary work among the Maori natives of New Zealand. He induced the Church Missionary Society to send out some missionaries, went with them to start the work, himself preaching the first sermon on Christmas Day, 1814, made in all seven visits of inspection, counsel and supervision before his death, in 1838.

Wesleyans began in 1822, had many discouragements, including destruc-

tion of their first station, gained their first converts only in 1831, after which the numbers grew rapidly.

Duncan, of Scotland, began a Presbyterian mission in 1844, to give seventy-four years to the work.

In 1839, an English development company founded Wellington, in the midst of large tracts of land purchased from native chiefs, and the British colony (1840) grew rapidly. Selwyn, the first bishop, 1842, was enthusiastic over finding what seemed to him "a whole nation of pagans converted to the faith."

Partly on account of wrongs perpetrated by the white settlers and for other reasons, the Maori's warred with them, reacted against Christianity, developed a new fanatical religion called Hau-hau-ism. It was a mixture of Roman Catholicism, especially Mariolatry, Spiritism, Mesmerism, Mormonism and pagan superstition. There was so great a defection from the Christian churches that only a third of the membership was left. There was violence and a missionary of the Christian Missionary Society and a Wesleyan missionary, who had laboured among the people thirty-six years, were slain. After 1870 the violence subsided, and missionary work continued, but Hau-hau-ism has not yet entirely passed away. The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand took over the work of that denomination in 1871, the Wesleyan Conference was formed in 1874, and the Episcopal Church gradually relieved the Church Missionary Society, from 1882 to 1903. Baptist colonists took some share also in the missionary work, and since about 1900 New Zealand churches have had the responsibility for their own country and have shared in missionary work elsewhere.

THE LONDON SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH SEAS

First in time, the London Missionary Society has also been foremost in service and achievement in this South Sea field. Attention had been drawn particularly to "Otaheite" by Cook in the story of his voyages of scientific discovery, 1869 to 1879, when he was slain on the Hawaiian Islands. Carey had wished to go to Tahiti, but when he was fortunately turned to India the London Missionary Society selected this as its first field, and sent out a colonization party of thirty, besides five children, in 1897, eighteen of whom were to occupy Tahiti. Most of these were unfit, some returned, some died, some turned aside to other occupations, and the effort was a pathetic failure. Yet the society learned by its mistakes and persisted, even in the face of bloody opposition from many of the natives, until the King, Pomare, suppressed opposition in 1815 and, in 1819, accepted baptism and rapidly led his people to the new faith. By 1835 they had the entire Bible in their own tongue, and Christian ideals had been formulated as the laws of the island. Then came Catholic intrusion, backed by French force. In 1842, France established a "protectorate" over all the eastern Society group, and annexed them in 1880, and the rest of the group in 1888. The French made the presence of the British missionaries impossible, and after 1863 their work passed to the Paris Society, and the same was true in the western islands after 1888, where John Williams had laboured in Raiatea as the base of his

wide operations from 1819-1839. But even with Catholicism the state religion and the counter-mission of the Catholics, the islands remained predominantly Protestant.

Williams was the greatest of the London Society's many missionaries. He was himself uncommonly resourceful, tireless and fearless, and gifted in enlisting support. He had, in all, five mission ships in his twenty years; he inspired native Christians with his own missionary passion and trained them for the work; his "*Missionary Enterprises*" was sold to forty thousand copies; he and his associates and helpers reached numerous groups within a range of two thousand miles and were marvellously blessed in the work on Raratonga and Samoa. He aroused great enthusiasm and support while getting his "*Enterprises*" and his Raratonga New Testament published and raising money for a new ship in England, 1834-38. Upon his return, he and a young associate—Harris—undertook, with native helpers, to open work in Erromanga, and were both served up in a cannibal feast.

The whole Cook group came into full evangelization after Williams' beginning on Raratonga, and Pao, a native led to Christ by an American sailor with remarkable tact and ability, became the Christian father of the Loyalty Group, three thousand miles distant. It was Williams, too, who, in 1830, left eight Tahitian teachers to labour in Samoa, to be supported after 1836 by European missionaries. At Malua they built up an industrial and training school at which hundreds of ministers and missionaries have been trained and from which beneficent influences have spread widely. Williams also touched with less success the Austral, Union and other groups. When news of his martyrdom reached Samoa, twenty-five at once volunteered to take his place, and the efforts continued with sacrifice of life until, white and coloured, over fifty had lost their lives in Erromanga and had made it "the martyr isle" of the New Hebrides. When these London Missionary Society workers had won one hundred converts, the group passed (1848) to the Presbyterians for evangelization, as had been contemplated by Williams.

We are not yet done with the London Missionary Society. Even before the British took possession of part of New Guinea, 1884, the society had, 1871, selected this most dangerous section for sacrificial attack. The Christians in Lifu being invited to share in this, "every student in the missionary college and every teacher in the island volunteered." The workers came from a number of Polynesian islands. In twenty years one hundred and twenty of them died of fever, or by murder. In 1874, the pioneer white missionary settled, and in 1877 James Chalmers came to prove one of the most remarkable of missionaries. He had already seen a decade of service in Raratonga. "No white man . . . ever had a more wide and varied knowledge of . . . New Guinea, or visited more tribes, or made more friends, or endured more hardships, or faced more perils," up to the tragic day, in 1901, when he and Tompkins and twelve students were all killed and eaten, one of the last of such missionary sacrifices. He had not failed. The first converts came in 1881, hundreds had been baptized before his death, and steady progress continued. By

natives who came under the marvel of his personality, he was affectionately known as *Tamate*, and his biography by Robson is among the greatly influential lives of great missionaries. Charles Abel, who had been associated with Chalmers from 1890, carried on the work through its thirteen stations, and about 1820 there were unusual manifestations of the Spirit of God.

HAWAII AND THE AMERICAN BOARD

After Cook discovered the Hawaiian Islands, in 1778, they came gradually into the currents of trade, and then of colonization, and grew in importance until they were annexed by the United States, 1898. The Hawaiians were not of the highest grade of even primitive peoples, were addicted to some of the grosser and more immoral animistic practices and were in extreme degree in bondage to spirit-worship and tabu. Glover may overdraw the picture when he adds to "these terrible conditions" the influence of the "white traders, who violated every law of God and man, dealt treacherously and brutally with the natives, indulged in shameless debauchery, and introduced rum and venereal diseases which wrought fearful havoc and decimated the population." Yet the facts essentially support the charges, and in any case these Islands were too attractive and strategically important to escape floods of immigration. The native population has waned from an estimated one hundred and seventy thousand, in Cook's day, to some twenty thousand now. The present population of four hundred thousand includes some seventy thousand Japanese, fifty thousand Filipinos, smaller numbers of Chinese, Portuguese, etc. Two-thirds were born in the United States or in Hawaii since annexation.

As early as 1794 the King sent to England a futile request for Christian teachers. It was not until 1820 that any missionaries came. Some years prior to this a Hawaiian boy, who had been brought to America as a refugee from one of the tribal wars, was found at Yale College, weeping because of his desire for an education. Students became interested in him and arranged for his education. Before Obookiah could return as a missionary to his own people, he died, and this was the occasion of the American Board sending out Hiram Bingham, a volunteer, leading a party of seventeen, who opened work in 1820. The King was already leading in abolishing idolatry and tabu. The chief difficulties came from white traders. Members of the royal family were among the early converts. Proceeding with caution, the missionaries baptized only ten in the first five years, and only five hundred and seventy-seven in twelve years. In 1837, under Titus Coan, there came "The Great Awakening" for six years, during which twenty-seven thousand were received. In 1870 the board prematurely placed the work in the hands of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, retaining a fraternal supervision, and after 1877 again directing the theological college.

The missionary enthusiasm of the Hawaiian Association was extraordinary, thirty per cent of its ministry being missionaries to the Marquisas, Paumotu and other islands. The American Board has shared also in the Mocronesian work, where they had, in 1910, sixty-seven stations, manned

by twenty-five American and two hundred native workers, and twenty thousand converts. They had begun in the Gilbert Islands, in 1857. These and the Ellice had been completely evangelized in fifty years, the London Missionary Society sharing in the latter, supporting work begun by Elikana, who had gone the eighteen hundred miles, from the Cook Islands, in a canoe to give the Gospel to the Ellice.

From a training school in Ocean Island the board mission has evangelized, while Kusiae, in the Carolines, was a centre for evangelizing the Gilberts and Marshalls, the work beginning there in 1852. When the Spanish asserted their ownership, in 1885, the schools and churches were closed, and in 1890 destroyed, and the missionaries were banished. Ten years later Germany came into possession, and the mission to the Carolines was resumed.

The American Board followed the United States Government into Guam, 1910, and has done a fine work.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel entered Hawaii, in 1861, baptized the Queen in 1862, and broke into the unity of the Congregational churches. They were succeeded in Episcopal work by the American Episcopal Church, in 1902. In the course of immigration, various denominations arose and evangelization of Oriental immigrants received some attention from there, in addition to work by the Hawaiian Christians. The Paris Society shared evangelization in Paumotu.

We have already seen the English Church missionaries leading in work in Australia and New Zealand. From these bases this church has conducted an extensive Melanesian mission. Bishop Selwyn made a prospecting tour of various islands, in 1848, and the next year opened, in Auckland, a training school with five students in which, in three years, he had gathered a student body of forty, representing fifty islands, with ten languages and including the Chief of Mai Island of the New Hebrides. His plan was to hold classes in Auckland in the summer, and in one of the islands in the winter. John Coleridge Patteson, an Oxford Fellow, joined the mission in 1855, and in 1861 was made Bishop of Melanesia. Under his very able and devoted leadership, the work prospered, the school was moved to Norfolk Island. But in 1871 the bishop was slain at Nukapu Island, as he landed with some native associates, out of revenge for the carrying off of five Nukapus by a "labour ship." His death greatly stirred England. It was referred to in "the Queen's speech" to Parliament, and Max Müller paid a noble tribute to him and his marvellous work. Six thousand pounds was given promptly for the Norfolk Island work as a memorial of the consecrated bishop who, among other gifts, had such a capacity for languages as to be credited with speaking forty Melanesian dialects. He was succeeded in the bishopric by the son of the pioneer Bishop Selwyn.

The Solomon Islands became one of the chief spheres of this far-flung and ably conducted work, and a second training school was opened in one of them. The Anglicans opened a mission in New Guinea, in 1881,

and progressed slowly. It received a bishop in 1897, and continued steady development. British New Guinea has been attached to Australia since 1906.

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS

"When he landed, in 1848, there were no Christians here; when he left, in 1872, there were no heathen." This inscription on a tablet in the large church in Aneityum of the New Hebrides, is in memoriam of John Geddie, "father of the Presbyterian missions in the South Seas," which mission is chiefly responsible for all the southern New Hebrides, Nova Scotian, Scotch, Australian and New Zealand Presbyterians, all sharing in the work. As a lad in his Nova Scotia home, Geddie had read the stories of the heroes of the South Seas, and felt the call. Now he had given a written language, the Word of God and a trained ministry to this island, and his converts had sent out fifty evangelists to other islands, providing their entire support.

Ten years after Geddie went to Aneityum, there went to Tanna John G. Paton, from Scotland. Two missionary couples who went from Samoa, in 1842, had found this island impossible. Now the Patons bravely faced constant danger and extreme hardships for four years before they had to flee. They located in Aniwa, where ultimately they saw God's grace "change the whole population from murderers and cannibals into the 'most openly and reverently Christian community that he had ever visited.'" Paton was one of the most notable missionaries, and his *Autobiography* one of the most popular ever written. What remains to be done in these islands is carried on by the *John G. Paton Memorial Mission*, with a teachers' training institute and hospital work.

WESLEYANS

The Tongan and Fiji Islands are closely related geographically and spiritually. The English Wesleyans have almost had a happy monopoly of their evangelization, and the work stands out among the most signal in all the Pacific marvels. The London Society's ship, *Duff*, dropped ten of its mechanic missionaries on Tongatabu, in 1797, but after three of them were killed the rest left, in 1800. Then, in 1822, the Wesleyans came. After a dozen years of hardship, during which they succeeded in establishing themselves, the Chief, Taufa'ahan, who had unified the islands, identified himself with Christianity, adopted the name George and made a reputation for himself as an able and righteous ruler. He reigned until 1893, dying at the age of one hundred. A great revival, in 1834, swept the islands, and the period of missionary evangelism was practically completed in a few years. Difficulties arose in the eighties with the Australian Conference, and the King headed a "Free Church of Tonga." The breach was later mainly healed.

From Tonga, the story moves to the Fiji group for a thrilling chapter. So degraded, violent and cannibalistic were the Fijians that their name came to be a byword for "fool-hardy" missionary undertakings, and the wiseacre critics of missionaries still crack ignorant jokes about Fijians

eating missionaries. Some Tongan converts, trading on the island of Lakemba, impressed the heathen with their Christian testimony, and, in 1835, two missionaries, Cross and Cargill, followed up this small opening. They had a rough time, some of their Tongan helpers were killed. They found that the great chief could boast of having eaten of eight hundred and seventy-two human beings. Yet in five months they had baptized thirty-one, and two hundred and eighty the first year. In that same year a terrible epidemic raged on Ono. When all their gods failed them, having learned vaguely of Christianity in Tahiti, they abandoned their pagan rites, adopted Sunday observance and were trying to worship the God of Whom they had vaguely heard. Tongan teachers, and then Calvert, went to Ono and, in a few months, two hundred had been baptized. In 1845, a remarkable manifestation of the Spirit came. A number of chiefs, including one of the most monstrous, were regenerated. In twenty years the Bible was translated, and a third of the people were adhering to the Gospel. Of course, there were difficulties. The Christian King, in 1874, approved the annexation of the Islands by Great Britain as the way of saving them from the French. Churches and schools were built throughout the Islands, many native Christians went as missionaries to New Guinea, New Britain and the Solomon Islands. Nearly all the people are in the Wesleyan churches. The native population is waning and Indians have come in in great numbers, now probably fifty thousand. In their evangelization the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel shares with the Wesleyans and the Fiji church.

The Bismark Group was undertaken by the Australian Methodists, in 1875, under the lead of George Brown, while the workers were chiefly Fijian and Tongan evangelists. Three Fijian missionaries met their fate in a cannibal feast. With courage and devotion, the work has been carried on with success in evangelism, industrial schools and the George Brown College, where preachers and teachers have been trained for an Evangelical Christian group now numbering perhaps a seventh of the entire population of over two hundred thousand.

SMALLER MISSIONARY AGENCIES

Besides the major Protestant organizations labouring in the Pacific, there are smaller missions doing their bit here and there. The Lutheran Church has had missions in German New Guinea, and German organizations worked in a small way in other German possessions, as did the Dutch in their regions. The Paris Society has done its best with its resources in French territory, in the face of Roman Catholic opposition and a generally unsympathetic official attitude. Mormons and Adventists have gone to several islands and made some converts and proselytes.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Catholics began their efforts in Hawaii in 1827, and have developed rather widespread missions, which were organized by 1842 in vicarates of Eastern (1833), Western (1836) and Central Oceania, each of which was subdivided as the work expanded and developed into almost a score of

vicarates. Their successes have been most numerous in New Pomerania (Bismarks), Hawaii, Guam, Marshall and Gilbert Islands, New Caledonia, the Fijis. Their missions in New Zealand were practically destroyed in the Hau-Hau movement, but were re-established and prospered in three dioceses, especially in that of Auckland. In Australia the Benedictines were led by Salvado, who pioneered for three years, was then made a bishop and took forty volunteers in 1852. He laboured fifty-four years for the aborigines and left his work to be led by Torres, who became bishop in 1910. With all their devotion, their following remains small. In all the Pacific they number about one hundred and twenty-five thousand membership, which includes an undetermined number of Europeans in some of the islands. That they have sometimes gloried in hindering and even effecting the destruction of Protestant missions cannot be denied, nor that compulsion has sometimes played a part in their work. Yet the devotion has been great, and their presence has wrought uplift and progress. There can be no comity between them and the Evangelical forces. Protestants may very properly elect to labour where the Catholics have not occupied, rather than in the same locations.

As in Africa, so in Oceania, we deal with a situation in which Christendom has appropriated the territory and holds in its hands the destiny of the peoples; where Christian missions have wrought a large measure of redemption; where the people are subject to the conflicting interests of more "advanced" and stronger peoples; where the power of Christianity to constrain and restrain aggressiveness is always being tested. Native populations are declining in nearly all the areas, and there is tremendous demand for Christian principles and devotion to be applied to the utmost in the interests of Christian brotherhood.

XIX

CATHOLIC AMERICA

FROM the Rio Grande to Cape Horn and in the reaches of the Caribbean Sea lie twenty republics, British Honduras, the three Guianas, the West Indies; and the United States' territories of Porto Rico, Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands. Besides this, we must for the present include the Philippine Islands, with their eleven million people, as a part of the United States' territory. In all these lands, except the British Indies, the Roman Catholic Church holds within its following the vast majority of the people, and must accept responsibility for the retarded moral, religious, cultural and economic conditions in so far as these are dependent on religion or subject to improvement by religious inspiration and guidance.

It is in Central and South America, and in the Philippines, that the Roman Catholic interpretation of Christianity has had its freest and most testing opportunity to manifest its ability to influence the contact of a "Christian" people with a pagan and relatively undeveloped people. In Europe and in North America, Catholicism has been itself under the influence of the Evangelical ideals, and its impact on the course of civilization has been modified by the non-Catholic influences. In what we are calling Catholic America, for more than three centuries the Church had such a monopoly of Christian influence as to enable it to give a truly characteristic demonstration of its resources and its product. That the test leaves room and demand for another form of Christianity to make its contribution to the further progress of all the peoples involved, cannot be denied by any who know the facts of the conditions and are willing to face them without dogmatic prejudice.

Beginning a century earlier than North America, Catholic America was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a century behind Protestant America in progress; and the European colonists had in the first case to deal with a native population far in advance of that in North America; and they found lands with natural resources certainly no less than those of the immigrant invaders of the North. Conditions in all the Catholic countries, after three hundred years of occupation, were either degraded or backward in civil, social, moral and spiritual things. Illiteracy, superstition, mass poverty and lack of initiative, social immorality and irregularity constituted a challenge which was almost wholly unheeded by the Church and by that refined, cultured, comfortable minority which in all these countries constituted an artistic civilization in itself very admirable but in its relation to the neglected majority ineffective and unconcerned.

INDEPENDENCE AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

For three hundred years all these "Latin American" countries re-

mained subject to European powers, parts of the empires of Portugal and Spain, with small areas ruled by other powers. Then came a period of rapid and successful revolt. From 1809 to 1828 every continental country threw off the yoke of Spain. Portugal's rulers had fled from French invasion to Brazil, and set up as an "Empire," in 1807. Nearly all cases these countries now set up as Republics. Brazil did not depose her Emperor and follow American fashion until 1887. Mexico, one of the first in revolt, had a checkered career until Juarez executed the Franco-Austrian monarch, Maximilian, in 1867. In the stormy six decades she had lost half her territory to the United States, but not many of her people. Already, in 1802, Napoleon had sold Louisiana to the United States, and she followed her destiny on to the Pacific before 1850. In 1821, the United States had brought to an end the claims of British and Spanish to Florida. Since Wolfe had wrested Quebec from France, in 1759, all America north of the Gulf and the Rio Grande was now under Anglo-Saxon, Protestant control and influence. It remained for the Spanish-American War, 1898, to eliminate Spain from the Caribbean Sea, and to take under tutelage the Philippine Islands.

These Catholic American states did not at once come into religious independence and freedom, notwithstanding San Martin's clear-sighted aim and effort. This step remained to be taken slowly and by degrees, and is not yet complete. The Roman Church continued in most cases to be the church of the states, and even when it lost this legal status it retained powerful, usually dominating, influence. Into the constitutions of most of the states was written the declaration: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion is the religion of the state, and the exercise of every other is prohibited." Only in 1915 was the constitution of Peru amended to permit freedom in worship. As late as 1929 the effort was made to pass through Congress a bill re-establishing the Catholic Church as the religion of Brazil.

Protestant churches can justify their separate existence only on the ground that the Catholic Church maintains a radical defection from New Testament, spiritual Christianity; that the Christ is obscured as Saviour by the sacramentarian and sacerdotal system; that the Bible is withheld from the people; that there is no hope for reform of Catholicism from within; and that a free Christianity is necessary both for salvation and for progress. All reasons for the origin and continuance of Protestantism argue for the duty of missions to Catholic peoples. In Catholic countries Evangelical churches are in much the same position as the early churches found themselves in relation to Judaism and to the Jews.

The American denominations have thus interpreted the situation and their duty, and most of the larger bodies have sought to evangelize Catholic America. European churches, dominated by the state church conception, as well as on other accounts, have not held the American view and have not undertaken or encouraged such missions. There have been a few independent organizations and efforts in this direction.

TWENTIETH CENTURY PROGRESS

In the latter half of the nineteenth century new life movements became

active in one after another of the Latin American states, and gained momentum until, in the twentieth century, one witnesses most inspiring and challenging advances in practically all these countries. Governments are being stabilized and the people are pressing on from an aristocratic republicanism to genuine democracy. There is a growing "Middle Class," without which there could be little advance. There are eager efforts to overcome ignorance and illiteracy, and to democratize education. The illiteracy is being reduced in all countries, until from eighty to ninety-five per cent a century ago, it has been reduced now to forty per cent in Argentina and hardly more than eighty-five in even the most backward country. There is determined development of natural resources, industrialism and commerce. These states have wholesome aspiration to take their place in the world's common life and in the councils of the nations of the world. There is the thrill of new life, and one finds almost everywhere the challenge of pioneer conditions similar to those in North America in the nineteenth century. The tides of immigration—chiefly European—rise ever higher to complicate and to emphasize the Evangelical opportunity.

The time is opportune for sharing with Catholic Americans the values, the power and the inspiration of Evangelical religion. The secular renaissance and education are producing widespread scepticism, agnosticism, materialism that cannot be successfully met and countered by the Roman Church. There are some welcome evidences of spiritual revival and moral reform within the Catholic communion. All along there have been Evangelicals who would place chief hope in such reformation from within. The Congress on Christian Work in South America, Montevideo, 1925, placed emphasis on this hope and took steps to encourage such a movement within the Catholic fold. Individual Catholics participated in the Congress, but there was, of course, no official Catholic recognition of it. History and experience warn against relying on this method for meeting the religious need.

Freedom for Evangelical work has grown slowly. While not completely attained in any country, there is no longer serious hindrance in a half dozen of the more advanced republics, and it is possible in all.

Until the Panama Latin American Conference, 1916, the various denominations undertaking missions reproduced their own types with close affiliation with the North American bodies. Sentiment grows for "native churches," and for an undenominational Christianity, an idea which received strong approval by the Montevideo Congress. It should be said that the Baptists were not officially present in that Congress, and thus far conscientiously separate themselves from the non-denominational movement.

Until recently the missionary work has aimed at the civilized peoples and the settled communities. Now there is fresh and extensive interest in the Indians. As all of these were supposed to have been incorporated within the Catholic Church in the period of conquest and colonization, the missionary plans have merely included them in the general mass of the people. It has now come to be known that Indians are far more numerous than was formerly supposed. Instead of being a negligible remnant

they constitute about one-fourth of the total population of Central and South America. Some of them retain their native languages and speak or understand Spanish or Portuguese very inadequately. The "Christianity" of very many is found to be only nominal and very superficial, while some have never had the "Sacraments of the Church." Pagan practices have been maintained in some tribes, especially along the eastern slopes of the Andes and in the upper reaches of the Amazon. They have come to be regarded as constituting a special field for evangelization, and efforts are making to provide for this. "Evangelical missions have thrust their rays of light into certain of these darkened communities—on the highlands of Bolivia, on the Peruvian Andes, in the southern part of Chile, in Paraguay, and in Brazil," yet the Montevideo Congress' Commission reported that "on the whole, almost nothing has been done, at least in an organized, systematic, comprehensive way, and the people are living feebly, like a stagnant stream, tilling the soil, fishing in the streams, hunting in the forest, by methods that have not changed for centuries."

BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANT WORK

Protestant work in Catholic America begins in Argentina, in 1820, when James Thompson preached what is said to have been the first Protestant sermon in Buenos Aires. He had been sent out by the English and Foreign School Society in co-operation with the British and Foreign Bible Society, to inaugurate a system of Lancasterian Schools. This project had succeeded so well in England that an organization was formed to promote it both at home and abroad. Since the Bible was the chief text-book of the Lancaster system, the Bible Society co-operated in promoting it in South America. For six years the work prospered. Hundreds of schools were conducted in Argentina, and the services of Thompson were demanded in Uruguay, Chile, Peru and Ecuador, and in Mexico. Bibles were widely sold and auxiliary societies were formed in a number of cities to promote the sales. Reaction soon set in. A movement that "received a warm welcome because it purported to be educational . . . met with a violent death by priestly suffocation because it was evangelical." In 1826, Thompson returned to England, and the schools suffered a lingering death. Here is one of the lost opportunities of Christian missions. "A resolute band of Christian workers might have pressed the advantage gained by Thompson and have laid the foundations of a successful evangelical enterprise at a time when all circumstances seemed to favour their cause." Thompson expressed the idea that since the world began he did not think that there ever was a finer field for the exercise of benevolence in all its parts.

Another beginning not consecutively followed up was by the Methodist Episcopal Church, which sent Fountain E. Pitts, in 1835, to see what the prospects might be in Rio and Buenos Aires. His favourable report was followed by sending D. P. Kidder, who began in 1836, travelled widely in Brazil for five years, finding a great demand for the Bible, circulation of which was his chief effort.

Captain Allen Gardiner had already found himself opposed by European authorities in his efforts to evangelize the natives of both West and South Africa, when he turned to the Indians of South America in sacrificial efforts. He found priestly opposition too powerful in his efforts in the Chaco (Argentina-Paraguay) and Chile. Just then Darwin was citing the Terra del Fuegians as the "missing link," incapable of moral distinction. Gardiner accepted the challenge, effected in England the formation of the South American Missionary Society (1844), and went forth to heroic, sacrificial effort, to die of slow starvation with his entire party while they waited in vain for the supply ship that came too late. This was in 1851, and his sacrifice stirred enthusiastic support of the society. Darwin was himself convinced, paid high tribute to the success among these degraded people, and became a contributor to the support of the work.

Driven out of Madeira, where he had done successful work as a missionary, Dr. Kalley went to Brazil, 1855, where some of his converts had preceded him. He was an independent Scotch Presbyterian. A physician of ability and with many accomplishments, he began a successful work which he carried on for twenty-one years, and brought about the formation of the "*Help for Brazil*" organization, which has continued to conduct limited work for seventy-five years.

The Bible Societies have led the way for denominational missions all over Catholic America. The American Bible Society began about the middle of last century to send its colporteurs, and has been represented by men of courage, tact and martyr spirit. They went into territory not yet accessible to missionary residence, and now that the countries are all legally accessible to the missionary, the society's representatives are giving attention to the neglected Indian peoples. The late Dr. Jordan, in a long service with the society, did a great work and in the later years made himself especially an apostle and advocate in behalf of the Indians.

Among the colporteurs of the society was Jose Mongiardino. He crossed from Argentina into Bolivia in the face of warnings that "a high ecclesiastical functionary" had declared that he would never escape alive. He went as far as Sucre and sold all his stock of Bibles, but the threat was realized; he was slain, refused burial, and his body interred outside the cemetery wall alongside a murderer and a suicide. At his grave, in 1883, Dr. Andrew Milne, director of the society, and Penzotti, its La Plata agent, pledged their lives to Christ in this service, and travelled around the continent distributing the Word of God. Penzotti laboured forty years in spite of beatings, insults and imprisonments. Another notable agent was Tucker, whose book, *The Bible in Brazil*, was a great inspiration to denominational missions.

ESTABLISHING DENOMINATIONAL MISSIONS

The Presbyterians, U. S. A., began their Latin American work, in 1856, by sending Rev. B. H. Pratt to Columbia, in response to an appeal from Colonel Fraser, who was a comrade of Bolivar. Pratt gave fifty-seven years "of unremitting fidelity to his task as missionary, translator of the

Bible, and author of commentaries," and won "a wide reputation in the Spanish-speaking evangelical world." The Presbyterians followed up this beginning until theirs are the most extensive missions in Latin America. They have been conducted with characteristic intelligence and support in Mexico and Guatemala; Venezuela, Columbia, Chile, Brazil. Southern Presbyterians entered Brazil, in 1893, to conduct vigorous work, and in 1931 were carrying forward fresh thoroughgoing programmes for so much of the country as they had accepted as their responsibility. In 1916 these two Presbyterian bodies had a missionary force of about one hundred and seventy.

In four of the South American Republics, Protestant missions have become a strong factor and exercise a powerful influence quite beyond their numerical strength.

Brazil is the one Portuguese-speaking country. We have seen the earlier beginnings. With their important Mackenzie College at Sao Paulo (no longer a denominational institution) and other schools, the Presbyterians have made greatest advance in developing an indigenous church. Here only do we find a national presbytery of some ten thousand members, in addition to the membership still connected with the missions of the two churches.

Methodists, North and South, were next after Presbyterians in permanent missions, in Rio Grande do Sul, Sao Paulo, and central Brazil. They have given special attention to schools for girls, a theological school at Juiz de Fora, and to publication work for their own and other missions in Sao Paulo. They are especially active in the state of Minas Geraes.

Southern Baptists sent their first missionaries, Bagby and Taylor, in 1881. They have planted stations in all the coast states, have developed educational missions culminating in Rio College and Seminary, which was founded by Dr. John W. Shepard and in a quarter of a century brought to first rank in educational recognition in the country. Besides, there is a large school in Recife for all grades through American junior college standard, for both sexes, and also a school for training ministers and women workers; a thorough school for girls in Sao Paulo, and schools of less extensive plans in other centres. Baptists have experienced phenomenal growth in numbers and self-support. Their membership is the largest of any, now approximately forty thousand, including several thousand German, Latvian and Swedish members not produced by the mission but closely connected with it. The Brazilian Baptist Convention has its own organizations, including a foreign mission board with a small mission to Portugal.

These three denominations include most of the Evangelicals of Brazil, who number close to one hundred thousand. There are about a dozen other organizations at work, including a vigorous Episcopal mission in the south, made notable by Bishop Kinsolving; Congregationalists, Adventists and the South American Evangelical Union.

Montevideo is the centre for missionary work in Uruguay by Methodists, Baptists, Salvation Army, Adventists and the British and Foreign Bible

Captain Allen Gardiner had already found himself opposed by European authorities in his efforts to evangelize the natives of both West and South Africa, when he turned to the Indians of South America in sacrificial efforts. He found priestly opposition too powerful in his efforts in the Chaco (Argentina-Paraguay) and Chile. Just then Darwin was citing the Terra del Fuegians as the "missing link," incapable of moral distinction. Gardiner accepted the challenge, effected in England the formation of the South American Missionary Society (1844), and went forth to heroic, sacrificial effort, to die of slow starvation with his entire party while they waited in vain for the supply ship that came too late. This was in 1851, and his sacrifice stirred enthusiastic support of the society. Darwin was himself convinced, paid high tribute to the success among these degraded people, and became a contributor to the support of the work.

Driven out of Madeira, where he had done successful work as a missionary, Dr. Kalley went to Brazil, 1855, where some of his converts had preceded him. He was an independent Scotch Presbyterian. A physician of ability and with many accomplishments, he began a successful work which he carried on for twenty-one years, and brought about the formation of the "*Help for Brazil*" organization, which has continued to conduct limited work for seventy-five years.

The Bible Societies have led the way for denominational missions all over Catholic America. The American Bible Society began about the middle of last century to send its colporteurs, and has been represented by men of courage, tact and martyr spirit. They went into territory not yet accessible to missionary residence, and now that the countries are all legally accessible to the missionary, the society's representatives are giving attention to the neglected Indian peoples. The late Dr. Jordan, in a long service with the society, did a great work and in the later years made himself especially an apostle and advocate in behalf of the Indians.

Among the colporteurs of the society was Jose Mongiardino. He crossed from Argentina into Bolivia in the face of warnings that "a high ecclesiastical functionary" had declared that he would never escape alive. He went as far as Sucre and sold all his stock of Bibles, but the threat was realized; he was slain, refused burial, and his body interred outside the cemetery wall alongside a murderer and a suicide. At his grave, in 1883, Dr. Andrew Milne, director of the society, and Penzotti, its La Plata agent, pledged their lives to Christ in this service, and travelled around the continent distributing the Word of God. Penzotti laboured forty years in spite of beatings, insults and imprisonments. Another notable agent was Tucker, whose book, *The Bible in Brazil*, was a great inspiration to denominational missions.

ESTABLISHING DENOMINATIONAL MISSIONS

The Presbyterians, U. S. A., began their Latin American work, in 1856, by sending Rev. B. H. Pratt to Columbia, in response to an appeal from Colonel Fraser, who was a comrade of Bolivar. Pratt gave fifty-seven years "of unremitting fidelity to his task as missionary, translator of the

Bible, and author of commentaries," and won "a wide reputation in the Spanish-speaking evangelical world." The Presbyterians followed up this beginning until theirs are the most extensive missions in Latin America. They have been conducted with characteristic intelligence and support in Mexico and Guatemala; Venezuela, Columbia, Chile, Brazil. Southern Presbyterians entered Brazil, in 1893, to conduct vigorous work, and in 1931 were carrying forward fresh thoroughgoing programmes for so much of the country as they had accepted as their responsibility. In 1916 these two Presbyterian bodies had a missionary force of about one hundred and seventy.

In four of the South American Republics, Protestant missions have become a strong factor and exercise a powerful influence quite beyond their numerical strength.

Brazil is the one Portuguese-speaking country. We have seen the earlier beginnings. With their important Mackenzie College at Sao Paulo (no longer a denominational institution) and other schools, the Presbyterians have made greatest advance in developing an indigenous church. Here only do we find a national presbytery of some ten thousand members, in addition to the membership still connected with the missions of the two churches.

Methodists, North and South, were next after Presbyterians in permanent missions, in Rio Grande do Sul, Sao Paulo, and central Brazil. They have given special attention to schools for girls, a theological school at Juiz de Fora, and to publication work for their own and other missions in Sao Paulo. They are especially active in the state of Minas Geraes.

Southern Baptists sent their first missionaries, Bagby and Taylor, in 1881. They have planted stations in all the coast states, have developed educational missions culminating in Rio College and Seminary, which was founded by Dr. John W. Shepard and in a quarter of a century brought to first rank in educational recognition in the country. Besides, there is a large school in Recife for all grades through American junior college standard, for both sexes, and also a school for training ministers and women workers; a thorough school for girls in Sao Paulo, and schools of less extensive plans in other centres. Baptists have experienced phenomenal growth in numbers and self-support. Their membership is the largest of any, now approximately forty thousand, including several thousand German, Latvian and Swedish members not produced by the mission but closely connected with it. The Brazilian Baptist Convention has its own organizations, including a foreign mission board with a small mission to Portugal.

These three denominations include most of the Evangelicals of Brazil, who number close to one hundred thousand. There are about a dozen other organizations at work, including a vigorous Episcopal mission in the south, made notable by Bishop Kinsolving; Congregationalists, Adventists and the South American Evangelical Union.

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Society. Besides these, the Waldensian Church has a number of congregations of Italian immigrants. The educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for boys and girls, aims at reaching the youth of the aristocracy and includes one of the best-equipped small women's colleges to be found anywhere. The total Protestant membership remains small. The meeting of the Congress on Christian Work in South America, 1925, made a powerful impression on the capital city and was a stimulating influence for Evangelicalism in the country, and to some degree in all Latin American countries. Half the two hundred delegates were nationals of South American churches, one-fourth missionaries to these countries, and the national leaders were prominent in counsels and in the public discussions.

Argentina is more of a European country than any other in South America, and British influence is greater than elsewhere. It has made more educational and economic progress than any others. Evangelical religion copes here with a more enlightened scepticism than elsewhere. A total of twenty-three societies were reported as working there in the 1925 Missionary Atlas. These included a local Young Men's Christian Association, an Independent Argentine Society with four workers, and several other minor organizations. The total of missionaries was three hundred and twenty-nine, of whom seventy-two were ordained men, fifty-four American and fourteen British. Both the great Bible societies were represented, the British having entered in 1806, but having at this time only one representative and his wife; the American, beginning in 1864, had also one man and wife in 1925.

Northern Methodists first undertook work in 1836, pushed it more vigorously than any others when the larger freedom came, in the late nineteenth century, have the best material equipment with more advanced educational work, and almost half the communicant membership of about ten thousand.

British organizations were earlier than most of the American, which for the most part came after 1900. Southern Baptists began, in 1903, with a small force which has been slowly increased. Baptist beginnings are really to be attributed to an independent Swiss, Pablo Besson, a man of rare scholarship and ability, who, besides founding a Baptist church, took active and influential part in framing the Constitution of Argentina, procuring toleration and a measure of religious freedom, and in public welfare movements. He is just now being widely honoured on completing fifty years of service in his adopted country. The Baptists have somewhat more than a fourth of the Evangelical membership, about three thousand.

The Seventh Day Adventists have thrown a large force—seventy-six in 1924—into Argentina, beginning in 1906, and stand next to the Baptists in results.

The Evangelical movement has thus far been largely limited to the cities. Fully one-fourth of the entire population live in Buenos Aires and another fourth in four other cities.

In Chile, besides the British and Foreign Bible Society (1811), the American and Foreign Christian Union was first. Their work, begun

in 1846, was for English-speaking people, but extended its scope and was passed over to the Presbyterians (North), in 1873. Northern Methodists followed, in 1877, with a strongly manned and supported work. The Christian and Missionary Alliance was twenty years later, and Southern Baptists ten years later still, being called in through a Scotch Baptist, McDonald, who had been working independently for many years already. Presbyterians and Methodists have laboured in a fine spirit of comity. Both have emphasized education. The Presbyterian Boys' School, in Santiago, under guidance of Dr. W. E. Browning, has long been making a notable contribution to moral and spiritual leadership, with students from several countries. This is matched by the Methodist school for girls in Santiago. Methodists have a splendid orphanage and industrial school at Iquique, and a college in Concepcion. Baptists have developed in Temuco with a good school, and have several other stations. Disciples, Adventists and others go to make up almost a dozen organizations. The South American Missionary Society (British) works among Indians in Chile, as in other countries. The total of Evangelical communicants is now near ten thousand.

In the other six republics of South America, Presbyterians, Methodists, Adventists and the Christian and Missionary Alliance have been most active, with a splendid small Canadian Baptist mission in Bolivia. Many small bodies have taken some part. The work has been very difficult, chiefly because of the bitter opposition of the Catholic Church, whose priests have been able, until recently, largely to control both the ignorant populace and the political rulers. There is great improvement in recent times, but the handicap has not yet been overcome. In all six, the Protestant communicants will not exceed ten thousand. In British Guiana there is, of course, full freedom. The Church of England claims first place with fourteen thousand of the twenty-four thousand communicants reported in 1924, with British Congregationalists and Wesleyans accounting for over eight thousand more. A half dozen American organizations (United States and Canada) had come in between 1896 and 1924. Dutch Guiana had only the Dutch Church mission, with seven thousand three hundred and one communicants, and the Church of England reporting ninety-five in 1924.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

In Mexico there has been a recurrent conflict between the state and the Catholic Church for more than a hundred years, and the Republic, since 1867, has had many clashes with ecclesiastical power. The end of the conflict is not yet. Protestantism has, of course, had the determined opposition of the Church and has sympathized with the Governments in every struggle, although the state has only for brief periods extended full freedom for Evangelical worship and evangelism. During fifteen years of confusion, civil wars, politico-religious conflicts, Evangelical churches and missions have been greatly hindered by the restrictive laws which the state adopted to protect itself from what it regarded as the encroachments of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood, for the laws had to apply to all churches and their ministers. Withal there has been steady, if slow,

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progress and the general movements are toward conditions more favourable. The eagerness of United States business to exploit Mexican resources has produced an almost continuous strain upon diplomatic relations; and, since the missionaries were almost all from this country, this business aggressiveness was a difficulty.

We have already seen how the Presbyterian Church undertook work in Mexico, in 1872. Methodists followed the next year, and Baptists in 1880. Congregationalists were two years later, and the United Christian Missionary Society came in 1920. The real pioneers seem to have been the Quakers, who came as early as 1871, but have never had a large mission. The Protestant Episcopal Church was still two years earlier, but its aim has not been to convert Catholics, but chiefly to minister to English-speaking people. Three Presbyterian churches, and both Northern and Southern Baptists, and Methodists have participated. In 1920, a conference was held in Cincinnati, to try to arrange for the more thorough occupation of the whole country and to obviate duplication and to promote co-operation in educational missions. All the major organizations except Southern Baptists participated. Agreements were reached along major lines and there was considerable rearrangement of workers. It was realized that the southern half of Mexico had been largely overlooked, and that the Indians in the west were sadly neglected. Conditions have not made possible the full realization of the plans agreed upon. There is a healthy Evangelical movement in Mexico, and it is exerting a strong, wholesome influence on the whole life. There can be little doubt also of improvement in the tone of the Catholic priesthood, as a whole, under the separation of Church and State and the need for more self-reliance and sacrificial service. A rather extensive, intelligent native Evangelical leadership has been produced in the sixty years of educational missions. The total Evangelical membership is only about thirty thousand.

The rest of Central America and the Caribbean islands present an extensive group of units too numerous for detailed attention within our limits. English Wesleyans, the Salvation Army and the Church of England, Christian Missions in Many Lands and the Moravian Trust Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel are active in many of the units, besides a number of less important organizations. In Honduras, Jamaica and Haiti, British work has been carried on since the early part of the nineteenth century (1807), and the Moravians had their first missions in the Virgin and other West Indies, 1732. To the United States falls properly the largest responsibility. The different bodies of the larger denominations have shared in the work, and since 1900, when Porto Rico and then the Canal Zone, and later still the Virgin Islands, became United States territory, and Cuba a protégé, interest and activity have grown. For the student there is some confusion because practice varies between conducting work in these lands by Home and by Foreign Mission Boards. This is true of Southern Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists. Northern Baptists created a special department for this work, under their Home Mission Society, with an expert superintendent. Presbyterians, North and South, have extensive work. Methodists have not tried to cover so many fields

as Baptists and Presbyterians, but have strongly supported what they have undertaken. The Friends of California have done extensive work in Guatemala and Honduras; the Christian Missionary Society in Porto Rico and Jamaica. The Adventists have been active in many places, unfortunately apt to be more concerned with proselytizing than with evangelization. Some Negro organizations have taken a hand in Negro sections, notably the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Board; the Jamaica Baptists and Congregationalists have each its own Union which undertakes missionary work.

Southern Baptists and Southern Presbyterians had been drawn into Cuban work by special providential circumstances before the Independence, 1886 and 1890 respectively. With the new era there was an enthusiastic movement to both Cuba and Porto Rico. In Cuba eleven organizations were listed by 1925, with nearly ten thousand communicants, of whom more than two thousand were identified with each of the following: Northern Baptists, Southern Baptists, Northern Presbyterians and Episcopalians. In Porto Rico there were fifteen bodies, reporting nine thousand three hundred and eighty-seven communicants, of whom two thousand four hundred and sixty-seven were identified with Northern Baptists, one thousand five hundred and ninety-three with the United Brethren, and just under one thousand each with the American Missionary Association (Congregational), Northern Methodists, Disciples. The rest were identified with five other bodies. All the work in Porto Rico falls in the period of United States occupation. Comity and co-operation have been observed largely in Cuba and Porto Rico, emphasis has been on evangelization through native workers and on education and the training of a competent leadership.

Evangelical concern for Latin America from 1900 to 1925 is indicated in the increase of missionaries from about one thousand four hundred to three thousand two hundred and forty-nine, and the increase of schools from eight hundred and ninety-two (in 1903) to one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven; the growth in response to this interest is indicated in part by the increase of communicants from about one hundred and twenty thousand to more than three hundred and sixty thousand—three hundred per cent; while the pupils in elementary schools had more than doubled and in higher schools had multiplied. The moral influence of Evangelical Christianity is greatly increasing.

THE PHILIPPINES

When the United States declared war on Spain, in 1898, her principal fleet was in Chinese waters and could legally get fuel for the long journey to Cuba only from the enemy. That meant going to Manila for the Spanish supply. Incidentally, Admiral Dewey took over the entire Philippine Islands, and introduced both them and the United States to a new career. At the close of the war, the United States was under obligation to organize a new government for the Islands and to supervise their affairs until they were competent to take charge of their own affairs, yet explicit pledge was made not to claim any permanent rights, but only to exercise friendly guidance until competent independence should be possible. Of course, the

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United States must determine when Philippine majority is attained. All efforts to have a date fixed for surrender of control have failed. While powerful sentiment for independence exists, and agitation is almost continuous, the advantages of American occupation, and progress under its benevolent administration, cause hesitation of the Filipinos to press the issue. Meantime the economic interests of American business and trade combine with the international political aspects of the Philippines to prevent definite progress toward surrender of the Islands to an uncertain fate.

The Filipinos had suffered the common experience of Spanish colonies. About nine of the ten millions had been formally inducted into the Catholic Church, while most of them remained in ignorant and superstitious illiteracy. Nearly half a million poorly instructed and partly pagan Mohammedans were ruled by their own Sultans in Mindanao and Sulu, subject to the Spanish overlords; and several hundred thousand, in all parts of the Islands, were still left in primitive animism after more than three hundred and fifty years of Spanish rule.

While Spanish was the official language, there remained thirty-seven Malay dialects sufficiently distinct to form unintelligible barriers to communication. Under American control, English supplanted Spanish as the common speech. A system of free public schools was organized that has made marvellous progress and brought incalculable blessing. The schools are "free, secular, co-educational," and aim at "the spread of literacy on the basis of a common language." The public schools enroll approximately a million and a half pupils, and the system provides all grades of education through the University of the Philippines, with its five thousand students. In the course of thirty years many thousands of Filipinos have studied in the United States.

With such a challenge thrust before them, the American denominations acted with unprecedented statesmanship. A council of strategy was held, and plans were laid for approaching the task in a way to avoid duplications, and for the various efforts to be supplementary and most effective. Where the same denomination has Northern and Southern divisions, only the Northern is represented. The Seventh Day Adventists came in in 1917, and the United Free Gospel and Missionary Society in 1922, but for the most part the work has been left to the bodies originally undertaking it. The British *Christian Missions in Many Lands* (1919) was the only non-American mission up to 1925.

The year 1899 saw the entrance of Methodists, Presbyterians and the Bible Society. Baptists followed the next year, and two years later the Congregationalists, with the Episcopalians in 1901. The Christian and Missionary Alliance came also in 1902, but with only a small force. Methodists have had far the largest forces employed, and have enrolled two-fifths of the communicants. But all have prospered and, as a rule, proportionately to their investment of men and means. The Evangelical community in the Islands is now far beyond one hundred thousand, and is a large factor in the gratifying cultural and economic progress. From the start the policy has looked to developing indigenous free, evangelical churches with competent leadership.

At first the Government depended largely on the churches to provide organizers and teachers for the educational system it was inaugurating, and there was an inspiring crusade of young men and women who went out for educational work, moved by high Christian and humanitarian motives.

An important religious fact was the formation, in 1902, of *The Independent Catholic Church*. It repudiated the authority of the Pope and renounced allegiance to him, and encouraged the study of the Bible. In 1925 it had a million and a half adherents.

High standards of missionary preparation are required by the principal boards working in the Philippines, and some eminent educators have been among their number. Dr. Laurbach, in a comprehensive and scholarly study, has expressed the conviction that the Filipinos are destined to lead the Orient in Christianity and in civilization. While this may be an overestimate, certainly they have responded to the opportunities afforded by the American occupation and to the ideals of Evangelical Christian civilization with a rapidity and solidity to encourage high hopes for their future and for their significance in the progress of the Orient.

Throughout Catholic America the Young Men's Christian Association has gone to the principal cities with its saving ministries and character-making activities in behalf of young men, and in a few places one meets the Young Women's Christian Association, with its protecting and inspiring aegis over a slowly emancipating young womanhood. International workers in behalf of temperance and social reform are also met in some of the important centres.

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At first the Government depended largely on the churches to provide organizers and teachers for the educational system it was inaugurating, and there was an inspiring crusade of young men and women who went out for educational work, moved by high Christian and humanitarian motives.

An important religious fact was the formation, in 1902, of *The Independent Catholic Church*. It repudiated the authority of the Pope and renounced allegiance to him, and encouraged the study of the Bible. In 1925 it had a million and a half adherents.

High standards of missionary preparation are required by the principal boards working in the Philippines, and some eminent educators have been among their number. Dr. Laurbach, in a comprehensive and scholarly study, has expressed the conviction that the Filipinos are destined to lead the Orient in Christianity and in civilization. While this may be an overestimate, certainly they have responded to the opportunities afforded by the American occupation and to the ideals of Evangelical Christian civilization with a rapidity and solidity to encourage high hopes for their future and for their significance in the progress of the Orient.

Throughout Catholic America the Young Men's Christian Association has gone to the principal cities with its saving ministries and character-making activities in behalf of young men, and in a few places one meets the Young Women's Christian Association, with its protecting and inspiring aegis over a slowly emancipating young womanhood. International workers in behalf of temperance and social reform are also met in some of the important centres.

XX

AMERICA RECOGNIZES HER DEBT TO EUROPE

AERICAN Christianity, of course, derived from Europe and remains largely an extension of the life and forms of European Christianity. Yet every one would at once recognize that there are characteristic American developments in Christianity.

The Reformation in Europe was, along all lines, an uncompleted movement whose progress was arrested short of its logical goals. The conservative forces of accumulated history, traditions, institutions and creeds were too powerful to permit achievement of a free, voluntary individual faith and a free, autonomous, self-reliant, self-supporting church with a membership which was voluntary. In spite of the principles of salvation by personal faith, and of the struggle for freedom of the individual against compulsory authority, the Reformation churches all continued the practice of hereditary church membership, and in every country of Europe where they won the ascendancy erected a state church. Right up to the World War this condition obtained, except for the curious canton option in religion in Switzerland and the nominal, legal separation of Church and State in France. The state religion might be the Greek or Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran, Reformed, Presbyterian, or Episcopal. All others were prohibited or tolerated with repressive or with discrediting restrictions. In the countries in which the Greek and Roman churches were able to resist the Reformation movement, or to recover political control, all forms of Evangelical faith were wholly prohibited or severely restricted until late in the nineteenth century, or in several cases until the twentieth. In countries where Protestantism won the supremacy over a large Catholic minority a *modus vivendi* was arrived at, as in Germany and England. Similarly large Protestant minorities were formally recognized in some Catholic countries, as in Hungary and Belgium. In such cases active evangelism was construed as proselytism and rigidly prohibited. An Evangelical church cannot formally or actually surrender its commission to evangelize and abandon its witness to the lost without losing its spirit and its power; and this is what happened in several cases. The Protestant churches in Hungary and Rumania are almost as formal, ethically ineffective and spiritually deficient as the state churches. Such churches must be impotent to meet the needs of changing conditions, unless they can experience revival and reformation.

Conditions in America favoured further progress in the Reformation principles and the development of free churches, voluntarily entered and voluntarily supported. Only in the United States and Canada has this type of Christianity extensively developed, as the characteristic type, since 300 A. D. The reasons do not lie in the people of these countries, except in so far as the colonists were pioneers with the spirit of adventure,

of individualism and of progress. The wide geographical separation from the history and traditions and, especially, the organized social control of Europe permitted a freedom of thought and action which was also compelled by the wide expanses, the responsibilities of constructing a new civilization and the inevitable facing afresh all man's values. The Spirit of God had His chance with these Americans, and carried them further than men had ever before gone along the road of man's free response to God. Nor is that to say that in ethics and morals America has even yet outstripped Protestant Europe. Time and testing must build up the vital constraints and the necessary restraints. It does mean to say that a new orientation is given to Christianity, and so an opportunity for a fresh advance in human redemption, and in the interpretation of religion and church.

CONDITIONS CALLING FOR FREE CHURCHES IN EUROPE

Changes in the social, economic and political life of Europe in the nineteenth and earliest twentieth centuries progressively weakened the position of state churches throughout Europe. To make only briefest reference to the pertinent facts, the common man sought to improve his economic status; to do this he found he must influence the political state; for this he must educate himself; in all these he needed the support, the encouragement, the sympathy of the Church. But the Church failed him. Gradually and increasingly the common man believed that he found himself held back from his legitimate aims by the triple forces of the official state, the official Church and the organized wealth. The Social Democracy of Europe believed itself to be atheistic, because it thought it must fight the only organized religion it knew and defy the God it believed to be claimed and exploited by a Church interlocked with capital and statecraft. Economic, political and ecclesiastical aristocracy mutually supported one another, and the common man must fight them all if he would claim and win his humanity. The loss of faith and the neglect of the churches were widespread. Few took the pains formally to repudiate their baptism and to demand their own excommunication, but increasing thousands were defiant of the Church or indifferent to it. The World War precipitated a crisis. The hold of the churches was further loosened. Disestablishment comes but slowly, and cannot quickly cure the evil. Without in the least saying that the historic state churches are not ministering spiritually to their worshippers and are not in many ways meeting the needs, we must still face the fact that vast and growing numbers refuse to seek religious nurture and to find religious expression in the provisions of the state churches. If they are to be won and retained for Christianity it must be by means of free churches, living and ministering on the voluntary principle, and with a history that commends them as convinced exponents of this principle. There are such free churches in all the countries of Europe. In most of the countries they are few, and in all they are numerically and economically unequal to meeting the need and seizing the startling opportunity.

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mental conditions. From the middle of the seventeenth century, and especially after the Wesleys began their great movement, free Evangelicalism grew rapidly. Wesleyans, Independents (Congregationalists), Baptists and Presbyterians (of course, already dominant in Scotland) grew strong, vigorous denominations, whose influence inevitably extended in some measure to the Continent, where Pietistic movements had prepared some soil for such seed.

In the nineteenth century, when the free churches in America had come to maturity, European immigrants gave occasion for the beginning of American denominations in Europe, from about 1840 onward. Some who came to America and found here not only fresh and original experience of the saving Christ, but the free church of which they had never known before, returned to inaugurate and foster such churches in their own homelands. Thus especially Baptist and Methodist churches had beginnings in the continent of Europe. Naturally, fraternal sympathy and financial help went to "brethren of like precious faith," and this encouragement was stimulated by the persecution suffered by these innovators, sometimes severe and wanting in no country into which they came.

Hamburg was the point of first approach, where J. G. Oncken was the pioneer. He had had a remarkable career, and after living in Scotland had been a colporteur in Germany and had distributed two million copies of Scriptures. His study of the Bible led him to question the practices of the Protestant churches. He established connection with American Baptists, learned that Professor Barnas Sears, of Hamilton Theological Seminary, was in Germany. With six others he received baptism secretly in the Elbe and started the first Baptist church. In spite of his spending much time in prison and of the same experience by several of his converts, they succeeded in making this a centre for Baptist expansion into the Scandinavian countries, into Russia, whither many Germans were emigrating, and into southeastern Europe. The theological seminary in Hamburg became a source of leadership as Baptists grew on the Continent from nothing in 1834 to a quarter of a million in a score of countries by 1920, besides the numbers in Russia to be mentioned later.

After the revolutions culminating in 1868-70, and in the new conditions thereafter, there was a larger measure of freedom, and efforts at expansion became more aggressive, with support from both Great Britain and the United States. Missions were formally undertaken in the Catholic countries of southern Europe, where they had previously been impossible. Colporteurs, and other representatives of the Bible societies, and consecrated workers of the United Brethren, and some others quietly carried the New Testament, tracts and a few books into regions where open Evangelical churches were as yet impossible. Probably there was some connection between these itinerant missionaries and the rise, especially in southern Russia, of spontaneous, indigenous Evangelical movements.

In 1905, the Baptist World Alliance was constituted, in a notable "Congress" held in London, to which were brought representatives of the denomination from most of the European countries. From that time the strong denominational bodies of the United States, Canada and Great

Britain promoted the growth by correspondence, personal and commission visitation, and by increased financial help, particularly in the effort to provide for the training of a ministry.

English Wesleyans had become interested in Italy as early as 1861 and, a little later, in Spain. The Methodist Episcopal Church began in Italy in 1873 and, with Rome as a centre, made a growing impression for Protestantism in the country. Its educational work was of a high order, for girls, boys and students for the ministry. Some twenty years later they located a representative in Zurich to serve as an interpreter of Evangelical Christianity without direct effort to win converts or found Methodist churches.

From about 1830 the British and Foreign Bible Society had been able to distribute a few Bibles in Italy. John Charles Beckwith, a lieutenant-colonel under Wellington, lost a leg at Waterloo and was led to study the Bible. Providentially led to interest himself in the Waldensians, he devoted a quarter of a century to reviving their interest in active evangelization. He left Italy in 1853. Later, under the influence and support of Dr. McDougall, a Scotch Free Church minister in Florence, the Evangelical Church of Italy came into being, later to be associated with the American Methodists. The American Presbyterians, while ministering to English-speaking Christians in Rome and elsewhere, became affiliated in Italian work with the Waldensians and provided funds for their work.

The revolutionary years around 1870 gave temporary freedom in many quarters and permanently in some countries, so that there was an advance in Evangelical Christianity. Dr. Cote was already in France as a Young Men's Christian Association secretary when, in 1870, he was chosen by the Southern Baptist Board as missionary to Italy, and followed Victor Emanuel's armies into Rome. The next year British Baptists also began work.

Beginning in 1868, a number of small missions were undertaken in Spain, but it very soon appeared that they must be carried on under greatest difficulties and hardships, for the freedom of the Constitution was ignored and persecution was almost constant. Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, German Lutherans, Methodists, Plymouth Brethren and others shared in these efforts. Mrs. Gulick founded and developed to great usefulness a school for girls. The multiplicity of organizations and the number of small independent missions, feebly supported, prevented Protestantism from making the impression to which it was entitled.

No full understanding of the work of American churches in Europe can be had without taking account of the history of Protestant movements within each of the countries; of the influence of the kaleidoscopic political developments; and of the remarkable "Los von Rom" movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Yet it would go beyond the possible range of this work even to outline these factors. Suffice it to say that when the World War came American Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians were already in contact and co-operation with groups of their fellow-Christians in a number of the European countries. At the close of the War, conditions seemed to demand great enlargement of these contacts.

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN EUROPE

The Church of England and the American Episcopal Church have long provided religious services for tourists and English-speaking residents in the important continental centres, and the English Church has had a small mission to Spain, with Gibraltar as its centre, for three-quarters of a century.

PRESBYTERIAN METHOD

Presbyterians have extended their interest helpfully into southeastern Europe, where they are endeavouring to quicken the Reformed churches of the several countries and to assist them in the training of an aggressively evangelistic and competent ministry. The hope is that in these Roman and Greek Catholic countries, where Protestantism has so long been repressed and has accepted the prohibition to evangelize, the Reformed bodies may now become active and may bring forward the religious regeneration of the peoples.

METHODISTS

Northern Methodists have not only given vigorous support to their strong Italian work, where they have erected a splendid plant, on a commanding new site, for their institutions; they have extended their work into Germany, into some of the states formerly included in Russia; and for a time they sought to inaugurate extensive work in Russia itself, where they became greatly interested in both the "Living Church" movement and the "All Russia Evangelical Christian Union." Their work in Bulgaria and Greece was mentioned in connection with the Near East.

Southern Methodists were awakened to an enthusiastic interest in Europe in the expansive after-war programmes. Even before the War closed they had determined to face "the beginning of the work of reconstruction to follow the great conflict." They sent two commissions to study the situation. In their "Centenary" budgets they included five million dollars for Europe. Notwithstanding the partial failure of these budgets they were, as late as 1925, making provision for four hundred thousand dollars annual budget. Their first work was for physical relief, from which they went on to evangelistic and educational work. Their fields were Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In every case they met with quick success. Beginning in Belgium, in 1919, in six years they had fifteen congregations with two hundred and ninety members and three hundred and eighty-one pupils in Sunday schools. In Poland they began in 1920, and by 1925 had seven churches with eight hundred full members, and that in spite of such opposition that they found it necessary to charter as a "Trading Company" to be permitted to remain in the country at all.

Their most notable progress has been in Czechoslovakia. Opening relief work in Prague, in 1922, they were able to organize their mission two years later with six thousand members. With a heritage of sentiment from the days of Huss, with the Bohemian and Moravian passion for freedom and for religion, with the sanctification of centuries of persecu-

tion and martyrdom, with the new nationalism headed by a Protestant for President, the conditions in Czechoslovakia are favorable for Evangelical religion. Since the War, more than a million Catholics have repudiated allegiance to Rome, without going over to Protestantism. As in other European countries, civil records must show religious affiliation. Many wishing no longer to be enrolled as Catholics, and unwilling to profess Atheism, have been recorded as Methodists or Baptists, while not entering these churches. They are known as "formal" members.

BAPTISTS IN EUROPE SINCE THE WAR

All the major Baptist bodies turned to Europe with enthusiastic sympathy after the War. Commissions from the Southern and Northern Conventions and the Alliance visited the Continent and studied it comprehensively. Their first concern was to meet the desperate need for food and clothing. The distribution of these to and through the Baptist committees in the different countries opened the way for enlargement of evangelistic and educational fellowship and gave new standing and progress to the Baptists in a number of countries.

At a conference in London, in 1920, the Baptist bodies agreed on a plan for comprehensive fellowship with their brethren in all parts of Europe. Southern Baptists would be responsible for Spain and Portugal, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary and Rumania, besides Italy, where they had been working fifty years already; Northern Baptists for France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria; German American Baptists for Bulgaria, and all would co-operate through the Alliance in behalf of the new states liberated from Russia and for the rest of Europe, including Russia. Each of the American conventions appointed a representative to live in Europe as a personal bond of fellowship, Dr. Everett Gill for Southern Baptists and Dr. W. O. Lewis for Northern, while Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke represents the Alliance. They have all participated in the efforts to bring about religious freedom, which was guaranteed in all countries signatory to the Versailles Treaty. It has to be admitted that full religious liberty is an idea almost unapprehended in most European countries. In Austria only limited toleration has been gained. In Rumania the struggle for toleration has been difficult, but is winning. In Spain there has been toleration grudgingly granted. Just now the Republic is adopting a Constitution dis-establishing religion and providing afresh for liberty, as was provided in 1868, but exercised for only two years. In Italy there has been much uncertainty under the regnancy of Mussolini, with not a little interference. The restoration of the Concordat, in 1929, threatened all Evangelical believers with Catholic repression or expulsion, but the practice tends toward enlarging freedom, and the Papacy is much incensed at the measure of freedom now allowed. The Vatican has been particularly bitter toward the Methodists.

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in Germany have come to number approximately seventy thousand, besides considerable numbers who have gone from Germany to other countries. The American Baptist Publication Society and the Foreign Missionary Union have given financial help for special work, theological and publication, in some measure. In Sweden the denomination began in 1847 with the baptism of Nilsson by Oncken, and has grown even somewhat more than in Germany, and was host to the World Alliance in Stockholm, in 1923. In Czechoslovakia, Baptists began colportage work in 1877, and founded their first church under lead of Henry Novotny, in 1885. Under encouragement of Northern and British Baptists, they have grown to some three thousand, with a strong theological school in Prague.

In France, the McAll Mission, from 1871, has carried on in many stations, not only in Paris but in various cities in the provinces. It has not organized churches, but sought to produce vital religious experience and advised its converts to join Evangelical churches, as many have done. Northern Baptists have made a number of attempts, since 1832, and have aided the Baptist ministers and churches, but the work has not prospered greatly. Growth in Esthonia and Latvia since 1920 has been healthy and rapid for Baptists, who number from four thousand to six thousand in each case, as also in Norway, Denmark, and Holland, with smaller numbers in other countries.

The Alliance has provided bonds of unity and a sense of fellowship which give a healthy hopefulness to the denomination throughout Europe. A *Baptist Union* is organized in each country, as a rule.

All the American denominations recognize that missionaries are not needed and would be an impertinence. Their support is chiefly for theological education, publication work and for schools for special classes. In theological education a very few foreign teachers may be of assistance, and Baptists have sent an American woman to lead in the development of a women's training school in Bucharest, and may later send another for Hungary. Some ministers come to the United States for study and fellowship in the schools and contacts with their denominational environment, the better to carry on the work in Europe. Dr. Gill has described the work of his board in terms that apply generally to all: "It is co-operative, indigenous, apostolic, Bible reading and Bible founded, and a lay preacher movement."

UNIQUE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

The situation in Russia is unique. The need for Evangelical religion would find few to question it among people who believe in vital religion at all. The bitter conflict which arose between the Holy Orthodox Church and the Soviet Government immediately upon the Revolution of 1917 found the Church largely helpless after its centuries of close alliance with the Czarist régime, its formalism and corruption, its neglect of the ignorant masses of the sensitive, romantic Russians, and its equal neglect of the Mohammedan and Buddhist millions in Asiatic Russia. The futility of such a religion made easier the atheism of Bolshevism.

The "Living Church" movement showed for a time hopeful vitality

and for a few years looked as if it might prove a refuge for Russians who knew God but could not defend the corrupt and reactionary Russian Church, and as if it might rescue the nation from the impending atheistic era. For a short time after 1920 American Methodists sought to encourage this movement, but it lacked conviction, unity and cogency sufficient to resist the growing anti-religious attitudes and methods of the Soviet, and seems to have subsided, certainly for the time being.

From about the middle, and more especially in the last quarter, of the nineteenth century there were spontaneous Evangelical movements in south Russia, such as the Molokans and Doukobors, with much emotionalism and some ignorant vagaries, who, nevertheless, prepared the way for more orderly movements. A Baptist movement in Russia was partly spontaneous, partly promoted by German Baptist immigrants in Russia, then encouraged by British Baptists prior to the formation of the Baptist World Alliance (1905) which, in its turn, gave great encouragement up to 1914, when this was no longer possible. A few of their preachers had studied in Spurgeon's theological college. There were two sections of the Baptist movement. That arising in southern Russia—the Ukraine, etc.—took the Baptist name, was more spontaneous and more influenced by German Baptists. It came to be organized as the All-Russia Baptist Union and located its headquarters in Moscow. The other, with St. Petersburg as its centre, originated in part from contacts of aristocratic Russians with British Baptists of influence, and had the encouragement of British agencies. It was organized as the All-Russia Evangelical Christian Union. Both unions had come to have churches throughout European Russia and, largely through the exiling of their ministers and other evangelistic workers, extended their work into Siberia. Both bodies joined the Baptist World Alliance, and remain members of it. Together they reckoned about a quarter of a million communicants, in 1914. When it became possible to re-establish contacts with them after the War, they were found to have grown enormously, numbering certainly no less than one million. German Baptists evangelized extensively among the great numbers of Russian prisoners during the War.

American Methodists and Disciples became greatly interested in the Evangelical Union and undertook to establish friendly relations with them. Through visits of the President of the Union, Prokanoff, the Disciples continue friendly relations and some irregular financial support. For a time the Baptists were able to gain at least toleration from the Soviet Government, but since 1928 have been hampered, repressed and persecuted with vicious determination to extinguish them.

The Church of England has long maintained very friendly relations with some of the Orthodox clergy and have encouraged their efforts to cultivate spiritual religion within the Orthodox Church, but English churchmen would not, of course, think of this as "missionary" work.

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No account of Evangelical work in Russia would be at all adequate that failed to speak of the work among university students of the International Student Young Men's Christian Association and the World's Christian Student Federation. Under the masterful leadership of Dr. John Mott and others, both American and British, these organizations have exercised a tremendous influence among students, both men and women. Sherwood Eddy has spoken to thousands of them, also, and has been greatly influenced by their idealism until he has become an interpreter of younger Russia's hopes and aims. Baron Paul Nicolay was largely a product of this student work, and his saintly life and sacrificial missionary labours constitute a classic of Christian devotion.

Just now Soviet Russia is exhibiting the most determined effort to destroy religious faith in an entire nation ever put forth in human history. No report can be made of the status of any phase of that Evangelical movement which, in 1920, gave promise of a reformation comparable to that of Western Europe in the sixteenth century.

XXI

MISSIONS TO JEWS

THROUGHOUT their history the relations between Jews and Christians have not been creditable to either. The blame rests on both sides. It would be as impossible as useless to weigh the blame of the one over against the other. From our side it is for Christians to confess their sins and mend their ways. That confession and amendment are increasing must be evident to any one who is at pains to observe the course of events in their relations in modern times. Since the recent war there is a very marked growth in friendliness, increasingly evident in Protestant countries and outstanding in the United States. That we are yet far from the ideal, no friend of Jesus Christ would question.

It is not possible here to trace the efforts and the results in evangelizing Jews in the course of the centuries; and we may be glad that it is not pertinent here to trace the persecutions of Jews at the hands of "Christian" states, nor the provocations which too often formed the excuses for the unchristian procedure.

No century has been without the accession of Jewish converts, few without its notable Jewish Christian leaders. Prior to the Reformation there were special efforts directed toward the conversion of Jews, in Spain in the seventh, eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in France in the fifteenth and seventeenth; in Italy in the sixteenth, when a long list of distinguished converts can be named; in England, where special provisions were made for Jewish Christians in the sixteenth century, when Tremellius, a converted Jew, was professor in Cambridge and wrote *A Catechism for Inquiring Jews*; and again in the seventeenth century, when Cromwell readmitted Jews to England, after which "some notable conversions occurred;" in Germany, where, in 1434, the Council at Basel decreed that "the bishops everywhere should see that the Jews were instructed in the Christian religion," and where "shortly before the Reformation . . . many a Jew was brought to the truth as it is in Christ, without compulsion," and in the seventeenth century Esdras Edzard devoted himself to personal work in behalf of Jews, used his fortune for helping the converts to a livelihood, attracted "scholars from all parts of Europe to Hamburg" to learn from him how to converse with Jews and refute their arguments, established a fund the interest of which was to be devoted to missions among Jews, and which continues to be so used to the present day; in Holland, where the various synods at different times in the seventeenth century "passed resolutions concerning the spiritual welfare of the Jews," and where many great church leaders, including Grotius, "wrote with a view of convincing the Jews, and many a Jew was received into the Church."

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One of the first two Moravian missionaries, Dober, after a few years in the West Indies, became so interested in the conversion of the Jews that he went to Amsterdam, where he set in motion a successful work for them.

JEWS IN MODERN MISSIONARY PROGRAMME

The putting of Jewish missions into the modern scheme really dates from 1801. In that year three students of Father Jänicke, in Berlin, unable to get any German backing to go as missionaries, were called to London for service with the London Missionary Society. One of these was C. F. Frey, a Baptist Jew. While waiting in London, he went among the Jews and felt led to give himself to evangelizing them. The society yielded to his request, he proceeded to prepare himself for this particular work, and began it in 1805. After three years it seemed wise to have an organization exclusively concerned for Jewish evangelization, and in 1809 *The London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews* was organized. It has been conducted with ability and devotion, extended its work to various points on the Continent, to north Africa, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Persia. In 1901 it had one hundred and ninety-nine missionaries, ninety of whom were Jews. In its first hundred years it could account for five thousand Jews baptized. The Church of England has led in interest in the Jews. Connected with it are, besides the original society, the *Parochial Mission* (1875), the *Barbican*, and the *Mildmay Missions* (1876), and a *Fund* for supporting the Church's work in Jerusalem and the East. Furthermore, in many parishes in London, and some in other cities, special provision is made for Jewish work. There are four British organizations of Presbyterians for work among Jews which do a large and widely extended work. The Extra-denominational *British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews*, founded in 1842, is one of the major agencies.

In practically all countries of Continental Europe there have been missions to Jews, but no organizations have attained eminence as in Great Britain.

In America, Rabbi Judah Morris was baptized, in Boston, in 1730, the first of record for this country. He was later a professor in Harvard. While some interest was shown in Jews, there was no organized mission to them until Frey came from London to New York, in 1816. There were then few Jews in America, but he went to work among them, and in 1819 formed a *Society for the Evangelization of the Jews*, but it never developed extensive work. The same must be said of a number of other efforts. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Jews flocked to the United States from Europe until this country came to be, after Russia, the greatest Jewish land in the world. Of thirty-two societies in the United States, in 1900, as listed by Thompson, only three were as much as twenty-five years old, and the chief of these, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, only included Jews in its general plans. Many of the organizations were of very recent origin. The large majority were local and only two had as many as five stations. Eleven find place in the World Missionary Atlas of 1925, the oldest being the Chicago Hebrew Mission, 1887. The eleven had ninety-two missionaries in twenty-five stations and reported one hundred and twenty baptisms the preceding year. The same table lists ten British organizations, with two hundred and twenty-six missionaries in sixty-two stations, and two hundred and thirty-one baptisms; nine Continental Societies with forty workers in twenty stations. Altogether, this table takes account of thirty-two societies and missions, having three hundred and seventy-four missionaries in one hundred and eleven residence stations and nine out-stations. One hundred and seventy-six of the workers were Hebrew Christians. Baptisms during the preceding year were not reported in many cases, hence the three hundred and fifty-one does not represent the total. There were numerous local and recent small missions of which the Atlas table took no account. Thompson's lists, published in 1902, contain statistics of thirty-two American, twenty-eight British, twenty-one Continental "Societies at present in existence," and also two in Africa (Alexandria and Cairo), three in Palestine, one in Calcutta, three in Australia, a total of ninety, with two hundred and thirteen stations, six hundred and forty-eight missionaries, and an income of six hundred and seventy-three thousand dollars. In 1916 Robinson estimated ninety-five societies, with about eight hundred and fifty missionaries.

SUMMARY OF WORK AND RESULTS

The World War greatly disturbed work among Jews in Europe. In the after-war period there have been great numbers of converts. It must be feared that prudential considerations influenced at least a considerable number of these in some countries.

We have seen that in Great Britain the Episcopalians and Presbyterians have been foremost in activity for Jewish evangelization. In America, including Canada, the Presbyterians are far the most active denomination, doing more than all others. Several independent and inter-denominational efforts have been undertaken. Of these the Chicago Hebrew Mission is the largest and most successful.

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The Hebrew Christian Alliance began the publication of a quarterly in 1915, was incorporated in Illinois in 1917. It has served to encourage many small missions with a sense of larger fellowship and greater strength, and has through its literature and in other ways strengthened and promoted the work. In 1930 they held a world conference of Hebrew Christians for several days in Warsaw.

There have been various efforts to ascertain the number of converts from Judaism to Christianity in the nineteenth century. Of necessity there must be a good deal of uncertainty in any such estimates. It is worthy of note that no competent student places the number below two hundred thousand, and some would claim three hundred thousand. Robinson estimates seventy-four thousand five hundred for the Great Orthodox churches, fifty-seven thousand three hundred Roman Catholics, twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty Anglicans, seventy-two thousand seven hundred and forty for other churches, total two hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and seventy. Even the lower figure indicates remarkable success among the now only sixteen million Jews in the world, as compared with the results among other races.

The converts have been most largely from the Orthodox Jews, the Reformed being personally more friendly with Gentiles, but religiously less accessible, which is natural where the basal religious convictions have been shaken and scepticism has so sadly questioned all eternal values. It may be suggested that the progressive Jews are in a transition stage, and that they may be won increasingly to faith in Christ Jesus. Considerable numbers have gone into Christian Science churches, which suggests that Evangelical Christians might with proper methods have satisfied an evident hunger of Jews for a new faith. They will not likely be won through distinctively Jewish missions. Robinson well says: "Some of the most fruitful work which is being done amongst Jews in England is carried on as part of the ordinary parochial machinery of the many parishes in East London, which contain a large Jewish population." He gives interesting examples. With growing friendliness between Jews and Gentiles and with vastly increasing co-operation among Jews and Christians in social undertakings and relief movements, and the efforts on all hands to transcend racial antagonisms, Jews will be recognized by the Church not as a people apart to be ignored, as has been the vicious custom in the past, but as a part of their normal responsibility. As this comes about and each church assumes evangelistic responsibility for its own parish Jewish converts will greatly increase, but they will no longer be tabulated as such. This will not for a long while make undesirable and unnecessary some special Jewish missions. It will become the more extensive and successful method. Already there are Jewish members of many Christian congregations taking their place without ostentation and without miration.

It continues, unfortunately, true that the vast majority of converts lose all standing with their Jewish race, in family, social and business relationships. Most Jews do not yet distinguish between race and religion; and to claim his share in the Christ of the Jews usually means for one

to lose his Jewish heritage in all human relations. On this account those in position to know testify that there are many who are disciples "but secretly for fear of the Jews."

There has developed a Christian literature for the Jews and a technique in approaching them that can be made available for increasing numbers of Christians who will accept the obligation and seek the opportunity to fulfill the wish of our Lord that we bring His love to His nation.

While "nearly eighteen hundred years were allowed to pass before the New Testament was translated into their language," in 1817, there are now books, magazines and ably edited papers available for the Children of Israel in every language in which they think and speak.

The Christian must accept his full share of responsibility for the millions of Jews now losing all religious faith, and the Jew must give heed to the meaning of his history and his ancient religion. He must claim for himself the full reward of that divine approach for which he has been God's channel for blessing all the families of the earth.

One of the striking facts in Jewish experience today is the changing attitude toward Jesus. Rabbis and other scholarly Jews have written increasingly of Jesus in recent years, and with growing appreciation they are trying to claim their "greatest Prophet," of Whom they begin to feel they have been robbed. They must find again, as "in the days of his flesh," that He can be possessed only on His own terms. He and His Father are one. "If any man honour the Son, him will his Father honour." There is a growing number to whom He can say as to the lawyer who approved His teaching: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom."

The Hebrew Christian Alliance began the publication of a quarterly in 1915, was incorporated in Illinois in 1917. It has served to encourage many small missions with a sense of larger fellowship and greater strength, and has through its literature and in other ways strengthened and promoted the work. In 1930 they held a world conference of Hebrew Christians for several days in Warsaw.

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The converts have been most largely from the Orthodox Jews, the Reformed being personally more friendly with Gentiles, but religiously less accessible, which is natural where the basal religious convictions have been shaken and scepticism has so sadly questioned all eternal values. It may be suggested that the progressive Jews are in a transition stage, and that they may be won increasingly to faith in Christ Jesus. Considerable numbers have gone into Christian Science churches, which suggests that Evangelical Christians might with proper methods have satisfied an evident hunger of Jews for a new faith. They will not likely be won through distinctively Jewish missions. Robinson well says: "Some of the most fruitful work which is being done amongst Jews in England is carried on as part of the ordinary parochial machinery of the many parishes in East London, which contain a large Jewish population." He gives interesting examples. With growing friendliness between Jews and Gentiles and with vastly increasing co-operation among Jews and Christians in social undertakings and relief movements, and the efforts on all hands to transcend racial antagonisms, Jews will be recognized by the Church not as a people apart to be ignored, as has been the vicious custom in the past, but as a part of their normal responsibility. As this comes about and each church assumes evangelistic responsibility for its own parish Jewish converts will greatly increase, but they will no longer be tabulated as such. This will not for a long while make undesirable and unnecessary some special Jewish missions. It will become the more extensive and successful method. Already there are Jewish members of many Christian congregations taking their place without ostentation and without miration.

It continues, unfortunately, true that the vast majority of converts lose all standing with their Jewish race, in family, social and business relationships. Most Jews do not yet distinguish between race and religion; and to claim his share in the Christ of the Jews usually means for one

to lose his Jewish heritage in all human relations. On this account those in position to know testify that there are many who are disciples "but secretly for fear of the Jews."

There has developed a Christian literature for the Jews and a technique in approaching them that can be made available for increasing numbers of Christians who will accept the obligation and seek the opportunity to fulfill the wish of our Lord that we bring His love to His nation.

While "nearly eighteen hundred years were allowed to pass before the New Testament was translated into their language," in 1817, there are now books, magazines and ably edited papers available for the Children of Israel in every language in which they think and speak.

The Christian must accept his full share of responsibility for the millions of Jews now losing all religious faith, and the Jew must give heed to the meaning of his history and his ancient religion. He must claim for himself the full reward of that divine approach for which he has been God's channel for blessing all the families of the earth.

One of the striking facts in Jewish experience today is the changing attitude toward Jesus. Rabbis and other scholarly Jews have written increasingly of Jesus in recent years, and with growing appreciation they are trying to claim their "greatest Prophet," of Whom they begin to feel they have been robbed. They must find again, as "in the days of his flesh," that He can be possessed only on His own terms. He and His Father are one. "If any man honour the Son, him will his Father honour." There is a growing number to whom He can say as to the lawyer who approved His teaching: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom."

XXII

NORTH AMERICA

NORTH AMERICA was a mission field from the beginning of its occupation by European Colonists, and remains so, with needs more extensive and complicated and no less urgent than at any time in the past. The westward expansion of colonial settlement created at once a demand for "frontier" missions among the whites, while also it kept the Indian population constantly in challenging contact. By the middle of the nineteenth century the migration had reached the Pacific Coast, but it was not until the twentieth century that the newer settlements became sufficiently occupied and the churches sufficiently numerous and financially competent for the realization that the geographical frontier no longer existed. This did not, however, mean the completion of the task. Moral frontiers were now to be found in all the states, and the missionary task, instead of being finished, appears more vast than ever. To trace the story of frontier missions would be to write the history of American Christianity; for save a few original colonial churches, all the churches of North America are the product of the missionary activities of voluntary pioneer preachers and workers and of the organized efforts of the older churches. The vast majority of churches in America began as missions and received financial support in their earlier years. Those requiring such fellowship and support through the Home Mission agencies are still to be numbered by thousands. Their story lies beyond the scope of this work. We must note, in passing, that some of the greatest religious heroes and builders of America have been home missionary statesmen. Baptists glory in John Mason Peck, Jonathan Going; Methodists in Jason Lee and Bishop Kavanaugh; Congregationalists in Marcus Whitman, Episcopalians in Bishop Whipple, and all of them in scores of noble men and heroic women who gave religious guidance and moral earnestness to a growing empire. While in the United States this phase of missions is passing, in Canada it is still in the midst. The wide stretches of farm and timber lands still invite the flow of immigration from the motherland, where economic conditions urge them forth and the immigration laws of the United States add to Canada's gain. There the churches still have the heavy responsibility and the sky-pilot of the lumber camp still has his calling, and the sacrificing pastor still leads in the building of a Christian frontier.

We have seen in an earlier chapter how missionary work among frontiersmen and Indians promoted the denominational unity and organization of the different Christian bodies and prepared the way for accepting the obligation of foreign missions. In the first instance organizations were formed for home missions, most notably the American Missionary Associ-

ation; later home and foreign missions were treated as aspects of one responsibility and in each denomination both were directed by one board. As both phases of work grew in magnitude it became expedient to have separate boards for the two fields of effort. The Baptists constituted their Home Mission Society in 1832, the Canadian Baptists in 1851, the Congregationalists in 1846, etc.

It is customary for the various organizations to divide their work into departments to care for different groups of those for whom missionary efforts are demanded. These classifications will overlap. For example, "City Missions" will be largely occupied with "Foreigners," and these foreigners are in large measure "Catholics." Negroes, Indians and Asiatics constitute distinct groups, calling for special study and specialized efforts in each case. With the Indians we may include the Eskimos.

MOUNTAIN SECTIONS

The "Mountaineers" of the Appalachians and the Southern highlands have enlisted the interest and efforts of religious organizations and philanthropists in the last fifty years to a remarkable degree. Here a strong race descended chiefly from the early colonists, largely deriving from those who dropped out of the companies migrating westward from the original colonies, failed to keep abreast of the advancing education and culture of the country. They are religious, but relatively undeveloped and lacking in national and race consciousness. They were in need of education of all kinds and of the broadening of their horizons and interests until they could transcend their provincialisms. Numerous schools of all grades have been built and conducted among them, and they have responded in gratifying degree, until now many of their ablest educators and religious leaders are their own people. They take their place in all progressive work and have provided some of America's foremost leaders in all phases of life.

Presbyterians were foremost in their efforts in behalf of these "mountaineers." Then Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists. For a time Baptists conducted more extensive work than any other group, as they should, seeing the people were very largely of this denomination. Mars Hill Junior College, in North Carolina, and Cumberland College, at Williamsburg, Kentucky, are high-grade institutions with hundreds of students. Berea College, Kentucky, is the most famous, most largely attended and most generously endowed and supported institution for these "mountaineers." Begun by Congregationalists, it came to be non-denominational. The Berry Schools, in Georgia, are also notable. We name these few outstanding examples of scores of mountain mission schools. All this work, requiring for a brief time extensive outlay of money and wise leadership, quickly loses its missionary character, for the people catch step with progress and all class consciousness, in them and for them, begins to fade out.

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mated. It seems generally agreed that they did not number much more than a million. For various reasons they diminished under the invading white impact until, in Canada, they numbered slightly above one hundred thousand, and in the States little more than two hundred and fifty thousand, by 1890. By that time their habitations had at last become fairly definitely fixed, governments had undertaken more intelligent, humane and consistent policies with them, and were at least checking the vicious injustices and exploitations of them, increasingly providing education and medical care and encouragement in the opportunity of full citizenship. They ceased to be a "vanishing race," and their numbers began to increase. At present the States have, not including Alaska, above three hundred and fifty thousand, two hundred and fifty thousand of whom have accepted land allotments and entered the body politic, and all are potentially full citizens. Of seventy-seven thousand five hundred and ninety-seven children eligible for school attendance in 1925, sixty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-eight were enrolled as follows: in Federal schools, twenty-five thousand seven hundred and six, state public schools thirty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-two, mission and private schools, seven thousand two hundred and eighty. Indicating provisions for health care is the fact that medical examination was reported for eighty-three thousand three hundred and six. In Canada, the numbers are slowly increasing. The Government still holds them in ward and administers their affairs through a *Department of Indian Affairs*, but with provision for enfranchisement, acceptance of which involves the loss of government protection. In 1923, above sixty-five per cent of school children were in attendance in three hundred and forty schools. More than a hundred "agents" were, at least a few years ago, engaged in encouraging the Indians to settle within the Reserves set apart for them, amounting in the aggregate to about five million acres.

The rather extensive efforts of a number of missionaries and organizations to evangelize the Indians in the colonial days and of the denominations in the first century of national life had to be conducted in the face of tragic and shameful disregard, on the part of white men, of the rights of the Indians and of the principles of Christian righteousness and brotherhood. Keeping in mind the failure of the Indians to develop a civilization or to make intelligent use of the resources of the land Providence had committed to them, not forgetting their nomadic habits and their savage internecine wars, it still remains true that for the most part the record of white occupation of the North American continent is the story at best of neglect of a great opportunity, at worst of the inhuman treatment of a backward people. The vicious aphorism that "there is no good Indian but a dead one" expressed too nearly the sentiment of a majority of the people to make it a comfortable dictum. The work of the missionaries in settling Christian Indians in ordered groups was marred or completely undone again and again by the antagonism of the whites or by forced removal to make way for expanding white occupation. While Canon Robinson is unduly severe in his denunciations of white Americans, he is just in saying that, "Had these Christian communities been allowed to develop,

it is inconceivable that the American people could have incurred the disgrace of allowing the twentieth century to dawn upon their country whilst a large proportion of its Indian subjects still remained heathen." About half of them were still heathen at the opening of this century. The Christians, reckoned by Robinson at one hundred and thirty thousand, were about equally divided between Catholics and the Evangelical denominations.

Indian evangelization in the Colonial period has been outlined in Chapter IX. From 1789 to about 1840 there was increasing friction between the races, actual warfare was frequent, Indians were compelled to move from one location to another. This course culminated in the forced removal of almost all Indians from the territory east of the Mississippi, in the Southern states to the *Indian Territory*, where the five "civilized" tribes were concentrated. Meanwhile the Indians in the northern territory were, for the most part, gradually being forced westward, while in Canada they were in less degree receding both westward and northward to make place for the whites.

By this time in the States many ministers had done devoted work among the Indians, and some of these made the march with the Indians and did what was possible to console them and to sustain the Christian faith of the converts and to aid in the founding of churches in their new homes.

From 1840 the Indians were, in general, permanently located, but with continued uncertainty in their position until about 1870, since which time their treatment has been marked by growing intelligence and justice.

Prior to American Independence, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel took interest in work for Indians and Negroes, and were able to report some success with Indians in several tribes. After Independence, it was only in 1852 that the Episcopal Church undertook to open "a chain of missions" for the Chippewas in Minnesota. H. B. Whipple, who had taken so much interest in the growing West, became Bishop of Minnesota and championed the rights of Indians. He had Hare made bishop to the Indians, and Hare won a wide reputation for his apostolic ministry. In his long service, 1872 to 1909, he saw the work extended to a dozen states, thousands of Indians led to Christianity and ministered to by a score of white missionaries and equally as many Indian clergy, a force which was largely increased in the next twenty years.

The Congregational Board began work with the Cherokees in Georgia, in 1815. In seventy-five years this denomination had five hundred and twelve missionaries to Indians.

The Presbyterians made Indians one of their chief concerns, beginning in 1843 and consistently sustaining their work. In 1925 they reported thirty-two missionaries and nearly seven thousand communicant members. They have been especially active and successful in Indian Territory-Oklahoma, but have had widespread work. Southern Presbyterians have shared in the work, and more recently have greatly enlarged their labours.

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Baptists founded an association especially for missions to Indians, in 1842, which undertook a large measure of work, which was merged with that of the Southern Baptist Convention. Northern Baptists made Indian work a distinct feature of work after 1865, and built up two notable schools in Oklahoma where large numbers have been trained. Both Conventions have been successful and together report more than six thousand communicants.

Besides these more extensive missions, there have been numerous smaller undertakings.

IN ALASKA

In Alaska, the Indians and Eskimos number some forty thousand, ten thousand of whom are reckoned as members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Since 1880, when Presbyterians began work, all together a dozen organizations have laboured among them. The Presbyterians and the Episcopalians have won most of the converts, while the Moravians have a worthy work among the Eskimos. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian, was truly the apostle and protector of the Indians and later able administrator for the United States Government.

In Canada, the Indians were a care of the Church Missionary Society from 1820, and developed successful stations in various sections of the country. One of the most notable was the Christian town of Metlakahtla, the product of a layman, William Duncan. He had trouble both with the Episcopal authorities and political authorities, and moved his town to American territory, while Bishop Ridley took the first Metlakahtla for a base of a series of stations. All the Anglican missions passed to the supervision and largely to the support of the dioceses of the Canadian Episcopal Church. Methodists were most extensively active in behalf of the Indians, with Presbyterians much less so. Of course, this work comes now chiefly under the United Church. Baptists have laboured faithfully in their measure and have some two thousand Indian membership.

Of Eskimos, all together there are some forty thousand in Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Labrador. Moravians succeeded to the Danish work in Greenland, begun by Egede, and in 1900 transferred it again to the Danish Church, when the Eskimos had been reduced to fewer than one thousand. The Moravians have also cared for the small Eskimo population of Labrador, where also the famous doctor, Sir Wilfred Grenfell, has included them in his ministries to the fishermen by which he has won a name second to none in modern missions. In Canada, among others, E. J. Peck has made notable success, in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, in stations in the Hudson Bay country and extending even into the Arctic Circle. Bishop Bompas has been another, of a number, of consecrated Episcopal missionaries of sacrificial devotion among these most needy and uninspiring people.

NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

Beyond question the eleven million Negroes in the United States are a "Problem." No one would any longer defend slavery, and few would condone the repressive treatment which the slaves experienced from their first arrival, in 1619, to their emancipation, in 1863. There is no need here to discuss the vices and weaknesses of the Negro, or the qualities that give him strength, beauty and promise. Nor do the limits of this work permit any details of the story of the influences and activities by means of which a larger proportion of the Negro population is incorporated in Christian churches than of any other race section of America. Nor, again, can we find place for the marvellous progress of the Negroes in the seven decades of freedom in material possessions, living conditions, in economic status, in education and culture, and in the growth of a worthy race consciousness. It should be kept in mind that this truly remarkable progress cannot be emphasized, as it deserves to be, without recognizing, by implication, a very large measure of sympathy and encouragement on the part of the dominant race in the midst of whom and by whose necessary co-operation this progress has been made. The inequalities under which the Negroes have suffered in the provisions of the laws and the far greater injustices in the administration of the laws, need not be denied or minimized to vindicate the claim of a general friendliness, a Christian helpfulness, a growing sense of justice as between the white and the black people. As the days of slavery were left behind, the problems of race relationship would necessarily change, and they did tend to become more difficult with the growing intelligence and clearer definition of human and citizen rights. For these problems the work of the Interracial Commission, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, has been of the highest value in recent years, since the World War, in producing mutual understanding in co-operation for solving problems and for Christianizing sentiments, contacts and relations.

Here, however, our concern must be limited to a summary outline of the Christianizing of the Negro in America and of his growth in Christianity. It is well to put at the head of all consideration of means and processes the large fact that fully forty per cent of the total Negro population are communicant members of Evangelical churches, more than half of them Baptists, chiefly grouped in two National Baptist Conventions, both of which are members of the World Alliance with representatives on its Executive Committee. There are approximately a million and a half Methodists, organized in a number of Methodist general bodies, chief of which is the African Methodist Episcopal Church, dating from 1812, greatly expanding after the Emancipation, so that they numbered, by 1880, more than four hundred thousand. Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Episcopalians have smaller contingents. Twice in the course of the nineteenth century efforts were made to engage the Catholic Church in definite undertakings to win the Negroes, but with very limited success. This church did not seem greatly concerned. In the present century, however, there has begun a vigorous movement which is strongly supported and ably directed, with the success which one would expect when a spectacular

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NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

Beyond question the eleven million Negroes in the United States are a "Problem." No one would any longer defend slavery, and few would condone the repressive treatment which the slaves experienced from their first arrival, in 1619, to their emancipation, in 1863. There is no need here to discuss the vices and weaknesses of the Negro, or the qualities that give him strength, beauty and promise. Nor do the limits of this work permit any details of the story of the influences and activities by means of which a larger proportion of the Negro population is incorporated in Christian churches than of any other race section of America. Nor, again, can we find place for the marvellous progress of the Negroes in the seven decades of freedom in material possessions, living conditions, in economic status, in education and culture, and in the growth of a worthy race consciousness. It should be kept in mind that this truly remarkable progress cannot be emphasized, as it deserves to be, without recognizing, by implication, a very large measure of sympathy and encouragement on the part of the dominant race in the midst of whom and by whose necessary co-operation this progress has been made. The inequalities under which the Negroes have suffered in the provisions of the laws and the far greater injustices in the administration of the laws, need not be denied or minimized to vindicate the claim of a general friendliness, a Christian helpfulness, a growing sense of justice as between the white and the black people. As the days of slavery were left behind, the problems of race relationship would necessarily change, and they did tend to become more difficult with the growing intelligence and clearer definition of human and citizen rights. For these problems the work of the Interracial Commission, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, has been of the highest value in recent years, since the World War, in producing mutual understanding in co-operation for solving problems and for Christianizing sentiments, contacts and relations.

Here, however, our concern must be limited to a summary outline of the Christianizing of the Negro in America and of his growth in Christianity. It is well to put at the head of all consideration of means and processes the large fact that fully forty per cent of the total Negro population are communicant members of Evangelical churches, more than half of them Baptists, chiefly grouped in two National Baptist Conventions, both of which are members of the World Alliance with representatives on its Executive Committee. There are approximately a million and a half Methodists, organized in a number of Methodist general bodies, chief of which is the African Methodist Episcopal Church, dating from 1812, greatly expanding after the Emancipation, so that they numbered, by 1880, more than four hundred thousand. Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Episcopalians have smaller contingents. Twice in the course of the nineteenth century efforts were made to engage the Catholic Church in definite undertakings to win the Negroes, but with very limited success. This church did not seem greatly concerned. In the present century, however, there has begun a vigorous movement which is strongly supported and ably directed, with the success which one would expect when a spectacular

religion with sensuous appeal is presented to an emotional people of relatively undeveloped culture. A good deal is made also of the fact that the Catholic Church makes no racial distinction in its congregational worship, while also the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, now happily receding, with which some Protestant churches and ministers were openly sympathetic, tended to urge the Negroes toward the Catholics. At the moment vigorous protests are being made against race discriminations in Catholic churches, especially in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, etc.

At the time of the Emancipation the Negroes were almost universally nominally Christian, due almost wholly to the agencies of the slave-holding families, the local churches, and individual ministers who devoted themselves to the religious needs of the slaves. Thousands of white pastors were the teachers, friends and counsellors of the Negro preachers in their evangelism and pastoral ministries. As a rule, Negro Christians were enrolled in the white churches and special provision was made for them in the meeting-houses. How little had been done for the Negro is shown by the extensive absence of the ethical quality in his religion, which was mainly emotional. Still it was an achievement of no small magnitude to bring the four millions of Negro slaves to the point of their emancipation with a conviction of and an adhesion to the Christian faith such that there was no reaction against the religion of the erstwhile masters, and such as set them on their way to assuming responsibility for their own Christian institutions and progress.

Although there were definite individual and organized efforts in behalf of Christianity for Negroes in the slavery period, these had largely to be limited to such as procured their freedom in one way or another and in territory outside the slave-holding states. Episcopalians, more than others, undertook formal religious work among the slaves in a number of states, with little success, largely because of their unwise approach and methods, which aroused resistance of the masters. There were notable examples of success that overcame opposition. Efforts of Northern religious bodies in the first half of the nineteenth century were so mixed with political motives or so much under suspicion of such motives as to make them of doubtful net value.

After the Civil War the help of the whites assumed splendid proportions. Yet the greatest help continued to be of a kind that could not be tabulated or formally reported—the help of white Christians, ministerial and lay, in the local communities throughout the South. One of the largest factors was the helpfulness of white women with the coloured women, no record of which is possible until the records are laid bare by Him Who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these ye did it unto me."

Besides the help of fraternal sympathy and fellowship, the greatest help has been in the form of education, much of which at first lacked wisdom and was attended by many mistakes and blunders. At first this came chiefly from Northern religious bodies and individuals. Scores of noble men and women went into the South to found schools and teach Negroes when it meant to incur social contempt and to doom themselves to an

association from which the romantic glamour was apt soon to fade. But time and the Christian spirit overcame, and Christians of all sections increasingly shared in the holy business of helping the Negro race "up from slavery." From the beginning there were a few able Negro leaders, whose numbers multiplied with the developing opportunities.

There have been several foundations established by individuals, used at least in part, for the benefit of Negro education, as the Peabody Fund, the Slater Fund, the Jaynes Fund and the Hand Fund, and several philanthropists have contributed large current sums. The funds of the Rockefeller General Education Board have been used in part in this way. Denominational organizations have been the chief factors. Northern Baptists have conducted many schools and have founded some of high grade, among which are Shaw University, at Raleigh, North Carolina; Morehouse College and Spelman Seminary for Women, Atlanta, Georgia; the Union University with its splendid Hovey Theological School, in Richmond, Virginia, where also is Hartshorn College for Young Women; Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tennessee, and others, sixteen in all, with faculties of some three hundred and fifty and more than six thousand students.

The American Missionary Association—at first non-denominational but actually Congregational—is responsible for Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Hampton (Virginia) Institute. The Freedmen's Bureau, established by Congress, in 1865, to help in the advancement of the coloured race, among other activities founded Howard University, in Washington, District of Columbia, which, since 1867, has contributed greatly to Negro education along all lines. Southern Methodists have half a dozen excellent small colleges for Negroes in as many states, upon which they have expended large sums in recent years.

The Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, the product of Booker T. Washington, is modelled after Hampton, one of his Alma Maters, and is a remarkable institution wholly manned by Negroes. It is contributing to scientific knowledge as well as developing comprehensive leadership. Negroes have undertaken many educational enterprises, some of which have been made highly successful. Nearly all these emphasize industrial features and contribute greatly to the rounded progress of the race. Co-operation between Methodist and Baptist general bodies, and similar Negro bodies, has been in every way helpful, although financial support by the whites has been too limited and uncertain. The Southern Baptist Convention has for several years been co-operating with the Negro National Convention to found and conduct the American Baptist Theological Seminary, presently located in Nashville, Tennessee.

In the last quarter of a century the Negroes, so largely concentrated in the South, have rapidly distributed themselves over the country, especially in the great cities north and east. Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia and New York have now great numbers. One-fourth of the total number now live beyond the old slave-holding borders. The Negroes must now share, as they are well prepared to share, the task facing all Americans of solving our complicated problems and of making America truly Christian.

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XXIII

HITHERTO: A SURVEY OF THE MODERN EVANGELICAL PERIOD

THE modern history of the world is the story of the expansion of Europe and of the changes which that expansion has effected in the life of the world. At the beginning of modern history Europe was Christendom. Christianity and Christendom are not the same thing, but they are inextricably interrelated. For religion it is most important that the distinction be recognized as far as possible. The most significant single national result of Europe's expansion is the United States, which in turn has had its own more or less independent expansion. All the American nations have been produced by this history-making movement. The South, Central and Island Americas constituted an extension of Roman Catholic Christendom, while North America represents predominantly a wide growth of Protestant Christendom. The Catholic represents a relatively less enlightened Christianity than that of the European bases whence it arose; and it has in the new world made no contribution of progress in the development and interpretation of religion, except that in the United States, under the influence of the democratic ideal in religion and politics, lay activity and influence have made distinct progress, and the ethical influences have been more clearly seen and accepted. Protestantism came into larger freedom in its American extension and developed more thoroughly its generic principles, and has progressed more rapidly until it represents the highest expression of the Protestant principles in religion yet reached.

Similarly the expansion of Europe into South Africa has produced another Evangelical Christian area, affected of course by the nature of the land and of the peoples into which it came.

Besides the creation of new spheres of Christendom, including more than a score of nations and some large and prosperous dominions approximating the status of independent nations, this expansion movement has affected and influenced all other national and racial groups on the globe; and there are few individuals in the world today whose life and ideas are not largely what they are by reason of this factor in the molding of modern history. Most of the island groups in all the seas have been subordinated to it. In all too many of them, as in the wide expanses of both American continents and in Africa as well, the native populations have been definitely subordinated—sometimes, alas! decimated and even exterminated by the incoming Europeans. Great and small “dependencies” have been created, ranging from a major social section of the race, like India, to diminutive tracts with few souls, like the islands of Guam or Yap. Overlordships have been established like that of Great Britain in Egypt and

of France in Madagascar, more recently still of Italy in Abyssinia. Since the World War the conscience of Christendom has adopted the policy of "mandates" over backward peoples, which is at least a formal tribute to a more human view of the rights and relations of mankind as such.

In other cases, nations and peoples have been aroused by the impact of European expansion into new careers in their own lives and in their relations to other peoples. Japan is the outstanding example. So completely did Japan respond to this arousing impact that in less than fifty years after her first reaction she had entered upon a similar career of expansion herself and had become a powerful factor in the changing of the modern world.

One other method of impressing this expansion of Europe was establishing "spheres of influence" in areas of the world which might not be incorporated in growing empires, nor yet subordinated into "protectorates." The expanding powers sought to reach mutual agreements with reference to these "spheres of influence" in territories nationally not to be appropriated or disintegrated. The supreme example here is China, where the "spheres of influence" procedure was most of all the cause of the Boxer Uprising, in 1900, and of the injustices and handicaps under which the Chinese have so tragically struggled in their effort to construct a modern independent nation. It is quite true that in the case of China, as of the other areas of arrested and retarded development, the ambition for lives of modern culture was produced in reaction to this expansion. New eras of social and national growth were induced by the Western impact.

Since Christendom at the opening of modern history was, mainly, Europe it was also racially white; and thus the expansion of Christendom brought about white leadership, and, to a large extent, domination of the world by the white races. This ministered to racial pride and arrogance, as also it aroused racial resentment and bitterness when once the coloured races came into full consciousness of the situation. It is significant, although very generally overlooked, that the racial and colour feature of this expansion was little in consciousness until the world was already practically under the leadership and direction of the white races; and that race pride and ambition played little part in bringing about the condition. Resentments and ambition, based on race and colour, arose mainly after the fact was accomplished.

Now, Christian missions constitute only one phase of this world-wide movement of Christendom in the last four centuries. We have seen that until the Missionary Society was called into existence, under the lead of Carey, in modern times the missionary followed in the wake of the general expansion, but did not lead it. From Carey onward the missionary has continued to follow up the secular outreachings of the men and institutions of Christendom; but the missionary has done much more than this. He has been an independent pioneer and has initiated his own movements and has guided them by principles rising quite above the secular programmes. Christianity reverted to its primitive impulses and inspirations, and became again on its own account a world-reaching force.

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It has no longer sought, merely or chiefly, to extend the Church with the growth of Christendom, but has definitely sought to extend Christianity regardless of the confines of Christendom. It has had a Gospel for all men. In the advances of Christendom, Christianity found many of its major openings, but it no longer depended upon these. It plunged boldly into the "dark corners" of the earth, claiming all men for sons of God and proclaiming a Christ Who rose above all nationalities and cultures and sent His followers to bring into the Kingdom of God subjects from every tribe and tongue and kindred and nation. The growth of the missionary movement in this modern period has been possible because of the growth of this super-national, super-Christendom conception. It has not been an unbroken growth. It has met much opposition and more of stolid indifference. It has had its periods of antagonism within the ranks of Christendom and of the churches. It is experiencing at the present time one of these recessions of interest—very marked—and not a little severe criticism.

Christianity is under the necessity of thinking itself into a clearer differential distinction from Christendom, and even of distinguishing essential Christianity from its churches, in order that it may be true to its own spirit, loyal to its own Lord, faithful to its own interest in humanity; and in it all filled with its own Spirit of the Living God and His Christ.

MOTIVES AND METHODS IN EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM

The motives and objectives in the expansion of Christendom have been different and mixed. Besides the spirit of adventure, the inherent and unexplained urge for advance, we may define the urges that have led on to this remarkable covering of the earth. Attitudes toward peoples affected by the expansion method adopted in effecting the expansion and dealing with the new territory and peoples have been determined in large measure by the motive and objective in the particular contact and occupation being made. We remember always that more than one motive will be operating in a given moment, as also that at the same time two sets of motives may be operating in two groups at the same time and place. Thus when we classify, it must be with the understanding that there is overlapping, with varying measures of co-operation, or antagonism, or separateness of action.

What stands out most powerfully in this period of expansion is the seeking of territory. It has been an era of empire building, in which Spain and Portugal were succeeded by Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, France, Germany, and then Japan, the United States, Italy. While the United States is by its inner principles prohibited from seeking territorial expansion and while it consistently professes to desire the land of no other people, its history has been one of repeated and almost continuous expansions until it is surpassed in territorial growth in its century and a half of national history only by Great Britain. The pleas of "manifest destiny" and "providential direction" cannot obviate the facts of actual history, nor allay the resentments and fears awakened in other nations by the facts. Empires are built by conquest, expropriation, suppression, and are maintained by repression, subordination, domination of the people in appropriated areas. That the economic welfare and, in

the long run, the cultural welfare of peoples are advanced by the overmastering powers may be true enough. Yet it is difficult at the time for a subjugated people to see the beauties and accept the benefits of the religion of the conquerors. Genuine Christian progress is not easy for the missionary where Christendom enlarges its borders by forceful aggression.

There is, next, the seeking after wealth, material goods and prosperity. To this end the peoples of Christendom build up trade through commerce; support and maintain their commerce by diplomacy and by large combinations of capital; protect it by force of arms or threat of such force; and exploit the weaker and more backward peoples in the interest of the satisfaction, comfort and pride of those who carry on the economic expansion. It may well enough be that the development of trade benefits the exploited peoples, enriches their lives and in the large is for their good. Yet, as a matter of fact, in the process gross injustices, grievous wrongs and immeasurable sufferings have been inflicted. One needs only to refer to the long struggle to overcome chattel and mercantile slavery; then the tragic history of economic inequalities and subordination of the proletariat; and the shameless disregard of the humanity of the peoples of Africa and Brazil in the rubber trade of Belgians and British, merely to cite outstanding examples. The part played by Christian missions in mitigating, exposing and correcting these evils of the expansion of Christendom deserves a measure of recognition not yet accorded.

A third aspect of expansion in our modern world has sought spiritual values. Here we proceed by instruction, by inspiration, by stimulating comparisons, by cultural interchange. The work is carried on by agents and agencies committed to idealism and with sympathetic efforts at human understanding and helpfulness. If those who go on such errands represent Jesus Christ or His churches, we call them missionaries. If they represent culture, education, some phase of general well-being, they may be appointed and encouraged by some organization or may go self-appointed. Commissions and committees have gone increasingly in recent times for such purposes. Sometimes they are invited, sometimes uninvited.

REACTIONS TO THIS EXPANSION

In the course of these forms of expansion the reactions of the peoples reached in the process have been varied and progressive. At first very many were too ignorant to know, or too illiterate to understand, and simply ignored the invasions of new forces or ideas. Many resented the encroachments, while also many imitated the ways and works of the invaders. Then we see the attitude which submits to the intrusion, appropriates, adopts and adapts what is brought. At length we reach the stage where there is better understanding with assimilation, reciprocation, sharing co-operation for the good of all.

The great business of Christianity in this period has been to carry the Gospel of Christ and the institutions of religion. It has not been possible nor always, or wholly, desirable to avoid association and interdependence with political and economic expansion. Certainly there is close connection with all truly cultural advance. Missionaries have builded wiser and

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REACTIONS TO THIS EXPANSION

In the course of these forms of expansion the reactions of the peoples reached in the process have been varied and progressive. At first very many were too ignorant to know, or too illiterate to understand, and simply ignored the invasions of new forces or ideas. Many resented the encroachments, while also many imitated the ways and works of the invaders. Then we see the attitude which submits to the intrusion, appropriates, adopts and adapts what is brought. At length we reach the stage where there is better understanding with assimilation, reciprocation, sharing co-operation for the good of all.

The great business of Christianity in this period has been to carry the Gospel of Christ and the institutions of religion. It has not been possible nor always, or wholly, desirable to avoid association and interdependence with political and economic expansion. Certainly there is close connection with all truly cultural advance. Missionaries have builded wiser and

more widely than they planned, as a rule. New life produced new forms of life, in new environments. All values were enhanced by their work. The missionaries modified, interpreted and enriched the values of secular advance, while they restrained, mitigated, rebuked and corrected many of its evils. They often found themselves embarrassed by the unchristian conduct of secular movements and not infrequently compelled to expose and oppose politicians and traders.

At length the situation is being reached when distinction is drawn in all parts of the world between a Christian and a man from a "Christian country." Christendom and Christianity are no longer synonymous terms for intelligent and thoughtful people in any part of the world. Jesus drew the distinction very sharply for His apostles. "The world" would hate His disciples because they were "not of the world," just as He was Himself not of the world. Christians were for the earliest mission areas people "called out" of the world to be "delivered from this present evil age." Modern missions have been until now too much a matter of geography and too much a matter of nationality. A man was a missionary only if he went from "a Christian country" to a "heathen land," and from his own nation and racial group to a "foreign land" and a people of a "strange tongue." There were advantages in this way of thinking. It sent missionaries out to begin Christianity—at least to proclaim it—over the whole earth. We are at length coming to see that there are no longer any non-Christian lands. For one reason, there are now Christians in every land, very few in some lands and all too few in every land; yet there is no land and hardly any section now wholly without its followers of Jesus Christ. Geographically, the Gospel has gone to the ends of the earth.

But there is another reason why there are no longer for thoughtful men any non-Christian lands. It is because there are no "Christian lands" to form a contrast sufficient to justify the "non-Christian" classification. It is only a question of degrees. Even where practically all the population is, by the ideas and methods prevailing, in the Church, there are very many who are not Christians. Furthermore, there are so many aspects of our life in all lands, so much of our institutional life and corporate activity not guided or controlled by the ideals of Christ and the motives of His Spirit that it is quite improper to speak of any country as Christian. Only in the latter part of our period have nations, as such, begun to recognize that Christian principles must be applied in international relationships and that diplomacy must be carried on under the eyes of the God and Saviour of all peoples. In the conduct of its own internal affairs in every nation, until very recently, the protection of property and the provision for material prosperity have been the foci of all legislation and administration. Christians and non-Christians are not to be grouped and distinguished by nations. The distinction is based on experience and runs through all lands and all groups.

THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

The greatest single phase of achievement of Christian missions in this

modern evangelical world campaign has been the changing of emphases and the revision of the ways of thinking about nations and government, races and the human race. Christ's reverence for personality, His principles of self-denial, stewardship, redemption, brotherhood, righteousness have more and more come into operation and into wider recognition until they are clamouring for concrete expression in the life of mankind. Christianity has produced and made operative in the modern world the ideas of democracy, independence, autonomy, self-determination, international justice, racial unity, human brotherhood. In some real measure the group contacts among men have been, and are being, Christianized. The worst exploitations in the extension of empire and trade have been mitigated if not abolished, or at least shamed into concealment and denial. It is a long way from the conquests of a Cortez and the friendly diplomacy of a Morrow in Mexico. There is a public opinion of mankind that shames into abandonment the predatory schemes and inhumanities of any nation or group. This work is far from complete, but it is in evidence and is growing. The task of Christianity has become social rather than geographical. It is no longer a matter of going from one race or culture to another. By the same token it is a matter of vital experience and righteous conduct, and not of a formal profession and church membership.

Here the Christian forces must not forget or be drawn aside from the methods of Jesus. Men must be reborn into appreciation of and devotion to these human and spiritual values; and the Gospel of the Kingdom of God as the social ideal and of regeneration and righteousness as the means must remain the specific duty of the Christians and of the churches, which are the agencies through which Christians devote themselves in working for the Kingdom of heaven among men. Christianity reconstructs life; the churches maintain Christianity; the missionary movement carries Christianity into all the world and plants its churches among all people.

Christendom has carried its inspirations and its benefits to all the world. It has carried also the evils of human nature and human society which it had failed to overcome in Europe and America. It has carried its own problems into the midst of age-long problems in other lands, and has thereby created new problems for itself and for all the rest of the world. All along it has carried the seed of the solution of its problems—not their complete solution in any proximate period, to be sure; for problems of growing life are never solved except in the sense that they are so handled as to continue the process of solving and creating problems. The problems are modified with each measure of their solution. They come better to be understood, although ever more complex.

The gain that has been achieved is that the major problems of any people and in any part of the world are made now to appear as world problems calling for the co-operation of leadership of all peoples in their progressive solution; and the further gain that Christianity can now offer solutions on a scale never before possible. For in all frankness it must be recognized that Christianity is the standard for the world's ideals today. The moral and ethical judgments of men throughout the world

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Even in the things of national life the awakened nations set before themselves eagerly to strive for what the "Christian nations" have obtained and have set before them as next goals. Nor should we forget—though all too many of us and too often do forget—that these peoples of Christendom who lead the world's modern advance were but untaught savages when already the ancient Asia was stocked with empires of culture and long history, the same peoples that now emulate the newer West and follow its lead. Christianity has caused the peoples it gripped only partially and inspired inadequately to outrun the rest of the world and place Christendom in the confessed leadership of the race.

CHANGES WROUGHT WITHIN CHRISTIANITY BY ITS MISSIONS

Not without extensive changes within has Christianity sent her sons and daughters into the lands of the earth to be prophets of God, heralds of Christ, planters of churches, and bearers of a new interpretation of life. In her theology, her ecclesiology, her eschatology Christianity has wrought and experienced remarkable modification as she has heard and heeded the voice of her God; as she has lifted up her eyes with her Christ to look upon the multitudinous nations as fields white unto the harvest; as she has learned to sympathize with the worshipping soul of humanity in vain ways lifting lame hands upward to feel after God; as she has come to share the missionary call and passion of Paul and made it her "ambition so to preach Christ where he was not known, to go forth among men as a liturgy-leader in behalf of Jesus Christ, ministering the Gospel of God so that the religious offering of the heathen might be made acceptable because sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (Cf. Rom. 15:13-21). All favoritism in God progressively passes out of the minds of men who are following a universal Christ to interpret Him as they find Him striving for expression in the religious yearnings of men the world over. Exclusive election cannot hold place in the religion of men who have found themselves chosen of God to be the bearers of a call to all men. Their election has come to be that to service in stewardship of the Gospel so that Christ's redemption may become ever more inclusive. Christianity ceases to be thought of as a limited stream flowing through

a hopeless morass of humanity on to a land of glory lying beyond this degenerate world, for missions interpret the Gospel as an ever-widening stream of life renewing the world. Creeds and dogmas become plastic with conformity to the unfolding of their meaning in new phases and larger expression.

When once men learn that God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself and committing unto those who experience the reconciliation the ministry of reconciliation unto all men, then many ideas and forms lose meaning or take on new meaning. There is a new attitude toward Christians of other communions following the same commission and engaging in the same tasks. Christian missions in modern times have been recasting the forms of Christianity and are working still at a task far from complete. It is not possible here to trace, or even outline, the changes in outlook, emphasis, attitude and structural organization which have come about in the last hundred years and which have been produced, more than anything else, by Christianity's entering actively upon a career of world-wide evangelism and by the experiences in the process of becoming actually a world religion.

CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONS TO CULTURE

No adequate appraisalment of the missionary history of our age can ignore its contribution to human culture. To begin with, Christian missions have done much in the way of uncovering the surface of the world and introducing its peoples to one another. Many groups of islands are known to mankind generally only or chiefly as arenas of heroic missionary labours and martyrdoms. The secrets of the "hermit nations" have been first penetrated by the men and women who went in the name of Christ to bring the light of God into these closed areas. "Darkest Africa" was brought into the light of observation in great measure by men inspired by the missionary motive. It was before the middle of the nineteenth century that Krapf and Rebmann were pioneering in the region of Central Africa's great lakes and mountains with a view to laying out an "Apostle-strasse" from east to west as an highway for the Gospel of Redemption. Moffatt was only less an explorer than a missionary; and his son-in-law, Livingstone, became the most noted of all Africa's explorers because as a missionary he found it necessary first to uncover the vast need to the gaze of Christendom. For him "the end of exploration was always the beginning of the missionary enterprise." Henry M. Stanley went first to seek Livingstone. He was led by that great Christian to share the call of God to the neglected and despised races and made the Christian motive large in his own subsequent enlightening explorations. Stanley's challenge to the missionary societies sent the British into Uganda. The Landor brothers and Du Chaillu were also actuated by the call of the missionary spirit. These are outstanding. Besides them a great number of men—and women as well—are responsible for the first incursions into limited areas, which they entered in search of neglected men and women that these might come to know their inheritance from God in Christ. How much geography, ethnography, ethnology, philology, anthropology owe to

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missionaries cannot be reckoned or estimated. Certain it is that in all these fields they have been pioneers and have contributed much data of the sort that it cost most to get at.

"In overwhelming proportion it has been the missionaries and not the soldiers and governors, it has been the missionaries and not the merchants and civil servants, with whom has lain the initiative in almost all the civilizing work to which we have referred. It has been the missionary doctors, not medical men as such, who have opened the hospitals and laid the foundation of medical instruction. Not professional students of language as such, but missionaries, have done by far the largest part of the work of reducing the new languages to writing, of translating the Bible, of producing other books and creating literature. Not professional educators in the first instance, but missionary teachers, have been founders of schools and colleges, inaugurators of the work of the press. Not industrial innovators and social reformers as such, but missionaries, have been the first to struggle with the poverty of the converts and their exclusion from castes and trades, with the status of women, with the helplessness of orphans, with conditions of plague and famine. Others have followed in their steps, but the missionary has usually blazed the way. Yet the missionary has always regarded these matters, however valuable in themselves, as merely subordinate to his main end. He has always considered them side issues and by-products of his main endeavours. He has considered these works as but the fringe and circumference of his task. His central task, and in the early stages you might almost say his exclusive task, was the preaching of the Gospel of God as revealed in Christ to the souls of men. The later representatives of the mission cause have indeed come to regard these secondary aims as more intimately connected with the essential purpose than the earliest of the missionaries had felt them to be. We, in our generation, feel more strongly than did the men of a century ago the unity of man's life, the impossibility of touching it effectually if we touch it at one point only. Yet the most modern missionary, with all of his sympathy with humanitarian ends, does not regard these as his main ends. He would still say that he held himself to be primarily a minister of religion, that he sought converts to a faith, that he wished to build up a church and to establish a religious community" (*West and East*, Moore, pp. 323, 324).

All the historical and anthropological sciences are heavy debtors both to the missionary idea in operation in the course of history and to numerous individual missionaries who have contributed much material and have initiated lines of research and done much in the way of reflection upon and classification of facts. Missionaries have been initiators and pioneers in all these lines. As a rule, they have properly and necessarily left to others the development of the sciences of religion, anthropology and history, while they gave themselves chiefly to the work of practical religion in their missionary activities. But there are on the missionary rosters notable names of contributors to culture. Legge, Williams, Richard, Hepburn, Martin, Griffiths, Gulick, Verbeck, Warneck, Livingstone, Judson are a few of a numerous list of leaders in the enlargement of knowledge and

understanding, whose primary work was preaching the Gospel and building the Kingdom of heaven.

The better understanding of the religions of mankind and the changed attitude toward them within Christendom is one of the most significant products of the missionary insight and research. The study of the ethnic religions of India, China and Japan on the part of the adherents of these religions has been brought about by sympathetic and cultured missionary students. To the missionary labour, and the labours of others inspired by them, is due the editing, publishing and interpreting of the literatures of the world's religions. Until it was awakened by the missionaries, either among the scholars of Christendom or in the devotees of the non-Christian faiths, there was practically no scientific interest in these literatures. A great mine of human history and psychology has been opened and is yielding invaluable results. The range and methods of human culture for all the major peoples has been radically changed, primarily as a result of this missionary movement.

One needs only the most casual knowledge of the changes in educational ideal and method, in the economic and social structure of Japan, China, India and other parts of Asia and Africa, to feel how tremendously the expansion of Christendom has affected the human race. The missionary activities and agents have been the chief beneficent factor in this change. The changes complicate and enlarge the task and the problem of Christianity in the world. They also encourage the putting forth of the energy requisite to the carrying on of so great a work.

SUCCESS OF MODERN MISSIONS

Christian missions may be appraised in part by reckoning the numerical and tangible advances which mark the progress from Carey to our own day. To begin with, Christian churches have been made a definite factor in half of the world, from which a hundred and fifty years ago they were absent, or were an insignificant feature, not an influential factor. The missionary force has grown from a few score to some thirty thousand; the membership of the churches from a few thousand, as the result of the Protestant work prior to Carey, to a total of two and a half millions, with "adherents" bringing the number to approximately eight millions.

William Carey was the first modern missionary. His methods constituted a strategy of missions which is now approved by the science of missions, which is one of the achievements of the movement. It is a growing science. The successes must modify the methods because they produce new conditions. In all human movements there must be learning by experimentation. The trial and error method is always in evidence. The basal lines of a missionary science lie plainly in the nature of the undertaking and are to be seen in the work and programme of Jesus, and in the strategy and progress of Paul.

The first objective and the leading motive in missionary work is the saving of the souls of men. It is frequently, but erroneously, said that this was almost the only idea of the missionaries of the first decades of the modern period. That men have in them the eternal values of per-

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The first objective and the leading motive in missionary work is the saving of the souls of men. It is frequently, but erroneously, said that this was almost the only idea of the missionaries of the first decades of the modern period. That men have in them the eternal values of per-

sonality to be saved and brought to realization only through the grace of God working through Christ and His Holy Spirit is the primary assumption of the Christian Gospel. The Christ "came to seek and to save that which was lost," and His disciples go on the same mission. But this must not be conceived narrowly, for His guiding and constructive aim was to introduce and establish the Kingdom of God. Besides the objective of saving individuals—as many as possible—other objectives appear in the course of the work. There is the effort of the church—the denomination—to extend itself, reproduce itself, in other lands. That this would be the result was largely assumed at first, and without any great reflection or planning. What other method would a mission pursue? The denominations were taking themselves quite seriously when the modern movement began. The denominations had grown up under conviction, and continued in the belief that essential and complete Christianity required their particular expression of the religion of the Lord Jesus and their witness to it. There was then little of the more recent sense of the loss, the incongruity, the shame of a divided Christianity.

The aim was from the start to "plant Christianity" in the lands where it was not. What this meant could not be foreseen in detail. Much energy of thought and conference in councils have been devoted to this question without yet reaching any final definition. For the first hundred years the question did not arise when this undertaking of planting Christianity in any land might be thought of as completed. In the last thirty years it has arisen and has for some become acute. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Dr. W. N. Cust stated the objective of Christian missions as being the production in the missionary lands of self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating churches. The phrase caught the imagination of the missionary world and has been authoritative and inspiring and unquestioned until within recent years, when conditions are calling for rethinking it. Just what is a church in this definition of the objective? When has it become self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating? Who is to determine when this is accomplished? The authorities of the sending church? The missionaries who have produced the church? The church itself in the mission field? Do we mean by the church the congregation of believers in a given location, so that the goal is reached by stages and progressively, unit after unit? Or do we mean the denomination as reproduced from the home base or the mission field, so that the Presbyterian Church in Korea might come to the goal while the Methodist Church in Korea was still a dependent—a missionary—church? Do we mean the whole body of Christians in a given location, so that city by city the goal shall be reached? Do we mean all the communicant Evangelical Christians in a country, so that for even so extensive a country as China the one church shall come as a unit to this goal?

Then there are a lot of questions growing out of the three terms of the definition. How shall it be determined when a church is self-supporting? How much is involved in this? Who is to determine when it is capable of self-government? Who shall govern it until then? and who transmit the right of self-government? What is the standard by which to test self-

propagation? In what order shall the three ideals be sought and required by the creating and directing mission? It was long assumed, and upon occasion asserted, that a church was not to be regarded as capable of self-government until it was self-supporting. The first expression of Christianity is witnessing, and the first mark of a church would properly be propagation. To that it should be encouraged by the mission. Its right and duty of self-direction would be far more readily recognized if we trusted the Holy Spirit as did the missionaries in the first days of Christianity. Self-support might well be the last of the three characteristics to be attained. All these matters belong to the problem of what has come to be called "the indigenous church." This has come to be one definite objective of the missionary enterprise. It constitutes the major question in present-day missionary strategy.

Social reconstruction is a by-product and a legitimate indirect objective. There are "social aspects of foreign missions" which cannot be overlooked. Thirty years ago, the late Dr. J. S. Dennis set out in three great volumes the outline story of *Christianity and Social Progress*. Other volumes have taken account of this, and it cannot be overlooked. A part of the science of missions seeks to determine the place of this objective in the programmes of the work. The ultimate hope is "making the world Christian"—"a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

Missionary strategy has had three methods: evangelism, healing, education. Each of these has had a growing history, and has called for thoughtful statesmanship. The interrelation of the three is obvious. The detailed interrelations and interactions are complex and varied. In evangelism much had to be learned about approach, the place of natives in the organized work of evangelism, and the terms and conditions of receiving converts. Mass conversions have produced serious problems in certain sections of India and Africa.

The missionary had to be a healer. The sciences of medicine, sanitation, surgery, dentistry, all the arts of personal and social hygiene were practically unknown in two-thirds of the world a hundred and fifty years ago. Christian missions introduced them. They were able to carry on these arts in only a limited way and with modest equipment. They led the way which was followed by personal initiative on the part of natives in all lands; by governments; and by benevolent organizations not directly connected with the missions. Outstanding among benevolent agencies for the scientific hygienic development of backward peoples is the General Medical Board, which is making a stupendous contribution to the physical well-being of a large part of the human race. But for the example and inspiration of medical missions, the Rockefeller Board would never have entered upon its noble undertaking. In what lands and locations to conduct medical missions; what proportion of available funds to give to other phases of the work; how to relate this to the work of evangelism; what relations shall be maintained with independent and government medical efforts—these are problems for the missionary strategists, and they change with the growing advance of what the missionary began.

Education is a vital part of missionary strategy, and introduces many

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questions. Religious education is required for converts that they may be intelligent Christians, for the children of Christians, for workers in the Christian cause. Fundamental education helps to make the Christian community self-sustaining and contributes to the economic programme of the people. The missionary education in its various forms leads to educational systems where none had existed and to new systems in the place of the old, which no longer meet the needs of people advancing under the new light of Christianity. The objectives of missionary education call for definition, then the relation of missionary education to that supported and controlled by the governments. When governments undertake to control the mission schools many complications arise—as in China at this moment.

Then there is the education of the supporting constituency. Each operating organization has its official organ for instructing its clientele. There has been a Missionary Education Movement since 1902 for all who can be induced to take advantage of it. Schools of missions, for the preparation of missionaries and for their further study while on furlough, have been organized, and some of them are doing notable service. The University of Halle, in Germany, had a professorship of missions, inaugurated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and occupied with ability by Dr. Gustav Warneck. But this was the only such professorship in Europe until well into the twentieth century. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary established such a professorship in 1899, the first in America, but followed by others. There are three or four great missionary libraries, one at Yale, one in London, one in Germany, and the Research Library in New York recently affiliated with and moved to a location within Columbia University.

"Language Schools," located in several foreign lands, give necessary training to missionaries during the first year in the countries in which they are to labour. Boards have learned to encourage missionaries to use furlough periods in study in universities, theological seminaries and technical schools for increasing equipment and skill for their calling. Graduate schools of missions now provide facilities for continued preparation, review and research on the part of those whose positions and abilities call for unending advance, just as in other lines of human leadership.

Guidance for candidates for missionary service has been given by the various boards, then more formally by a Board of Missionary Preparation, a subsidiary of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, and by a similar commission in Great Britain. In America this work is now encouraged and supervised by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference. The important thing is that no important organization any longer sends missionaries without seeing to it that they have special preparation, manifest real capacity and have the spirit of growth and progress.

Christian missions are becoming ever more the method by which the followers of Jesus Christ serve Him in His undertaking, by regeneration and reconciliation to create out of the broken fragments of humanity "one new human race," for "if any man is in Christ there is a new creation. Old things have passed away, lo, they have become new."

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